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ABSTRACT

These proceedings contain summaries of five working group discussions and a discussion of suggestions for future research from an ad hoc meeting on Work, Family, and Community (Fedruary 21-22, 1980) in Washington, D.C. The meeting had these objectives: (1) to identify salient policy and research issues associated with changing patterns of labor force participation and family structure, (2) to examine the extent to which existing studies have helped resolve these issues, and (3) to suggest promising directions for future research to expand critical knowledge, influence program development, and improve government and corporate policies affecting well-being or parents and children. An introduction that discusses themes emerging from the working group discussions precedes summaries of the discussions on the topics of time use by parents and children, family and home, community support systems, policies and practices in the workplace, and role of government policies and programs. Five suggestions for research topics and approaches are then summarized. Appendixes include six presentations made entitled Trends in the Labor Force Participation of Women: Demographic Shifts: Changes in Family Structure: Effects of Maternal Employment on Children: Schools as a Community-Support System: Employers, Employee-Parents, and Their Responsibilities: and Government Policies and Programs: Mapping the Domain. (Author)

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WORK, FAMILY, AND COMMUNITY: SUMMARY PROCEEDINGS OF AN AD HOC MEETING

Cheryl D. Hayes, Editor

Committee on Child Development Research and Public Policy
Assembly of Behavioral and Social Sciences
National Research Council

National Academy of Sciences
Washington, D.C. 1980

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This report has been reviewed by a group other than the authors according to procedures approved by a Report Review Committee consisting of members of the National Academy of Sciences, the National Academy of Engineering, and the Institute of Medicine.

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PREFACE

With support from the National Institute of Education (NIE), the Committee on Child Development Research and Public Policy has agreed to establish a Panel on Work, Family, and Community to explore concerns about how parents of different ages, of different social and economic circumstances, and of different cultural traditions manage their roles as workers and as parents. In so doing the panel will provide general planning assistance to NIE.

As a first step, the committee convened a two-day Ad Hoc Meeting on Work, Family, and Community on February 21-22, 1980, held at the National Academy of Sciences in Washington, D.C. The meeting involved approximately 85 participants with a broad range of perspectives and interests, including representatives of the social science research community, of industry and labor, of the federal and state-level policy-making community, and of service delivery at the local level. The meeting was chaired by Alfred J. Kahn, professor of social work at Columbia University and a member of the Committee on Child Development Research and Public Policy.

The meeting had three objectives. The first was to identify an array of salient policy and research issues associated with changing patterns of labor force participation and family structure. The second was to examine the extent to which existing studies have helped to resolve these issues. The third was to suggest promising directions for future research intended to expand critical knowledge and to influence program development as well as to improve government and corporate policies that affect the well-being of parents and their children.

The first day of the meeting was devoted to a number of general presentations by invited speakers on patterns of labor force participation and family structure, the effects of parental employment (especially maternal employment) on children, and the alternative roles of families, community institutions, government policies, and employers in helping parents to manage their responsibilities in the home and at the workplace. The purpose of these presentations, which are included as appendices to the summary proceedings, was to stimulate thought and discussion of a broad range of relevant issues facing policy makers, employers, service providers, and parents themselves. On the second day of the meeting participants met in five working groups to explore these issues in more depth and to relate them to ongoing study and future research needs. Each working group had an assigned topic:

- Time Use by Parents and Children
- Family and Home
- Community Support Systems
- Policies and Practices in the Workplace
- The Role of Government Policies and Programs

The substance of these working group discussions and the suggestions for future research that emerged from the two-day meeting are presented in this summary proceedings.

The Ad Hoc Meeting on Work, Family, and Community was intended to highlight a broad range of issues related to the intersection of work life, family life, and education, as it is transmitted through the schools and other formal and informal community institutions, in order to help NIE staff who are now developing research plans for fiscal 1982. Within several divisions of NIE there is currently strong interest in supporting research to address a broad range of issues involving the educational experiences and socialization of children that have accompanied changing patterns of labor force participation and family structure. These divisions are the Families as Educators Team (in the Teaching and Learning Group) and the Youth Policy Studies Team and the Family and Community Studies Team (in the Educational Policy and Organization Group). The first two of these units, the Families as Educators Team and the Youth Policy Studies Team, have developed portfolios of research projects to which they will make additions in the next two fiscal years. The Family and Community Studies Team is a new unit within NIE charged with establishing a research grants program, which will release its first grants announcement in spring 1981.

Our aim at the outset was not to prescribe for the National Institute of Education a fixed agenda of research priorities. It was rather to identify and articulate a sensible set of research emphases that may guide the agency in its current planning process and aid the Committee on Child Development Research and Public Policy in establishing a new Panel on Work, Family, and Community. Members of the committee and its staff, who were involved in planning and organizing the meeting, believe that goal was achieved. Moreover, the fact that the working groups, each with different orientations, produced similar, even overlapping suggestions offers reassuring evidence that the interests and ideas presented here are widely shared.

Unlike many conferences at which participants are merely an audience, this one benefited from the active involvement of all who took part. On behalf of the Committee on Child Development Research and Public Policy, I would like to express our gratitude for the contributions of all of the participants and to acknowledge with special thanks the invaluable efforts of a few. Marc Tucker and other members of the NIE staff, including Ann Milne, David Goodwin, Lois-ellin Datta, and Oliver Moles, provided both support and encouragement. Alfred J. Kahn served as chairman of the meeting and devoted a great deal of time and energy to its planning and organization. Richard J. Light was especially helpful in planning. Mary Jo Bane, Sheila B. Kamerman, John W. Kingsbury, Eleanor E. Maccoby, and Elliott A. Medrich served as working group leaders. June O'Neill, Paul C. Glick, Lois W. Hoffman, Lawrence Cuban, Donald R. Fronzaglia, and Sheila B. Kamerman agreed on short notice to present their research and perspectives on the implications of changing patterns of work and family life. Cheryl D. Hayes had the major responsibility for planning and organizing the ad hoc meeting and for the drafting of the summary proceedings. Other members of the committee staff, including Jeffrey R. Travers, Julie Zatz, Sally A. Kornegay, Suzanne Magnetti, John R. Nelson, and Patricia Bell Scott, served as reporters of the working group discussions. Christine L. McShane was responsible for the design and production of the meeting

brochure and the summary proceedings. Finally, Janie Stokes, Nancy McHarg, and Ginny Peterson handled the myriad administrative details.

Laurence E. Lynn, Jr., Chairman
Committee on Child Development Research
and Public Policy

INTRODUCTION

Since the turn of the century and particularly in the past decade, there have been significant changes in labor force participation in the United States. Most notably, there has been a dramatic increase in the number of women who are employed or seeking employment outside the home, and this increase has been greatest among mothers with children under age 18. In 1968, 39.4 percent of these mothers were in the labor force. In March 1978, 53 percent of these mothers were in the labor force; of that number 48.8 percent were white mothers and 66.1 percent were black mothers. An accompanying trend, although less dramatic in its proportions, is a decline in the labor force participation of men, particularly married men. In 1978, 81.6 percent of married men were working or looking for work, compared with 86.9 percent in 1968.

Whether as a cause or a consequence of changing patterns of labor force participation, there have also been significant changes in family structure in the past decade. There has been a dramatic increase in the number of single-parent families, due largely to divorce as well as the rising birth rate among teenage mothers. In 1969 11.8 percent of all children under age 18 were living with only one parent (of that number 10.1 percent were children under 6 and 13 percent were children aged 6-17); by 1979 the percentage had increased to 18.5 percent (of that number 15.7 percent were children under 6 and 20 percent were children aged 6-17). The figure for black children was 44 percent, more than double that for all children under 18. Only a small fraction of these children live with their fathers; the majority live with their mothers. Other changes in family structure during the past decade are a decline in the average number of children per family (from 2.4 in 1968 to 1.96 in 1978) and an increase in women's average age at time of first birth (from 22.1 to 22.7). These trends suggest that women are increasingly postponing childbirth until later, having fewer children or none at all, and that they are in growing numbers becoming single parents and breadwinners. In fact, single-parent families headed by women now comprise more than one of every five families. The traditional nuclear family, composed of father as breadwinner, mother as homemaker, and one or more children, has declined to less than one-third of all families with children.

Clearly these changing patterns of labor force participation and family structure have attracted a great deal of attention in recent years, and they have increasingly become the subject of research and public debate. Their importance lies not only in the impact they have had on the labor market and their immediate and long-term effects on women's social and economic status; they also have significant implications for men's employment, for traditional husband-wife relationships, for standards of living, for patterns of family life--and thus, inevitably, for the way in which both parents manage their responsibility to support the development and education of their children.

Child-bearing and child-rearing have been and continue to be primary functions of the family in our society, and mothers have traditionally assumed major responsibility for the care and nurturing of children. As we continue to experience significant changes in patterns of parental employment and family structure, however, traditional assumptions concerning the division of labor in the home and responsibilities for child-rearing are increasingly called into question. As Kamerman and Kahn (1980) note:

> Even as there is more shared responsibility between husbands and wives, the time and energy pressures on working parents--and even more so on single parents--increasingly demonstrate the need for some sort of response and adaptation by the society at large as well.

The question of what this response should be is becoming a central concern for social policy. It seems clear that parents who work--and those who do not work as well--cannot bear the full responsibility for child-rearing alone. Yet what is the essential role for the family, and how should that role be buttressed by formal and informal supports outside the family? What burden should fall to the schools and the numerous other community institutions that provide supports and services to families with children? How should employers respond? In what ways can they contribute to the well-being of families and still maximize employee productivity? Or should there be trade-offs? How can government policies and programs be effective, not only in serving children and their parents directly and building necessary formal supports, but also in strengthening informal systems that operate to support families?

As a step toward clarifying these issues and developing priorities for research, the Committee on Child Development Research and Public Policy convened the Ad Hoc Meeting on Work, Family, and Community. In his opening remarks on the first day of the meeting, Kahn noted, that of all concerns associated with the entry of mothers into the labor force, none is so controversial as the rearing of the next generation. Yet ironically, this is an area in which social policy lags far behind social practice. The issue is not whether mothers should work outside the home. They already do, and it is anticipated that more will do so in the next decade. The issue is rather how to make it possible for mothers to work with the least harmful consequences for children. Alan Pifer, president of the Carnegie Corporation, has remarked, "...since the clock will probably not turn back, the nation's institutions, from government to employers to the family itself, simply have to recognize the fact of the permanently changed circumstances under which children are growing up today, and make the necessary adjustments" (Pifer 1978).

The major problem, which was pointed out time and again throughout the meeting, is that we do not know with any certainty what the necessary adjustments are. Changing patterns of parental employment and family structure have complicated child and family experiences. There is no longer a clear separation of the home, the workplace, and the schools and other community institutions. As mothers enter the labor force, they increasingly operate between institutions rather than just within the family. In so doing, they are also forcing both their spouses and their children to operate between systems. There was a strong consensus that understanding what goes on both within the family and between the family and other institutions constitutes the

essential context for identifying necessary adjustments to support parents in meeting their child-rearing responsiblities.

Within this broad framework, several themes emerged from the working group discussions. The first and perhaps the most pervasive of these themes is the lack of fundamental knowledge about what goes on in the lives of children and their families on a daily basis. There was wide agreement that this gap in our understanding is due in part to data that have yet to be collected and analyses that have yet to be done. It is also due in part to the fact that large bodies of potentially relevant data have not been analyzed in ways that present a complete picture of the lives of American families in different social and economic circumstances. Moreover, these data generally have not been cumulated and ordered. We know, for example, something about how children and parents in different family settings spend time. But we know little about the meaning of that time use, about the quality of shared parent-child experiences, about the extent to which various activities are "educationally supportive" for different children, and about the kinds of stress that result from interactions in the home, at the workplace, in schools, or in the numerous other settings in which parents and children spend time. Understanding more about the meaning of time spent in various pursuits becomes critical as parents increasingly are away from the home. What are children doing when their parents are not around? With whom? Currently, for example, more and more children are in some form of group care for at least a portion of the day. What are their experiences? How are they similar or different from children at home, who are cared for by a parent, sibling, or babysitter?

A second theme is the need to recognize the interconnectedness among the variety of settings in which children and parents spend time. The relationship between the home, the school, and the workplace is becoming more complex. Children have traditionally interacted with parents in the home, and increasingly there is recognition that both children and parents benefit from their joint involvement in the schools and other educational settings in which children spend time (e.g., day care settings, extracurricular activities, sports, etc.). As parents spend more time in the workplace, however, the extent of their involvement in the home and the school and the nature of their interactions with children in these settings are necessarily affected. Understanding the nature of these interconnections for families in different socioeconomic circumstances and cultural traditions will help in clarifying the essential roles and responsibilities of families and other institutions in the process of educating and socializing children.

A third theme, closely related to the second, is the need to learn more about the relationship between public and private supports for children and their families. A variety of formal and informal systems operate to help families fulfill their responsibilities to support the education and socialization of children. These may take the form of publicly provided services, cash subsidies, tax benefits, and regulations. They may be publicly financed programs provided by private organizations. They may also be privately funded and administered services, voluntary programs, and informal supports available in neighborhood and kin networks. The rapidly expanding role of the public sector in the financing and provision of supports for children and families during the past decade has raised concern for its impact on the private sector. Of particular interest is the extent to which public policies and programs have affected the capacity of informal networks to support family functioning. Where

has their role been one of strengthening, and where has it been otherwise? It has been alleged that some initiatives to help parents meet the needs of their children have instead undermined or supplanted families. Others are said to have discouraged volunteerism in neighborhood and kin networks. Questions were raised again and again at the meeting about ways in which public policies can be redirected to strengthen informal arrangements without overtaking their functions. But specific instances of public programs with these negative side effects are difficult to document; if they exist, they should be evaluated in the context of an overall profit-and-loss analysis, weighing them against the benefits accruing from the programs.

A fourth major theme is the need to learn more about how government and corporate policies affect family functioning and the socialization of children. Evidence suggests that such policies (e.g., the tax system, the legal system, etc.) contribute both directly and indirectly to parental roles, family relationships, standards of living, the availability of jobs and the nature of work, the transition from education to employment, and the allocation of time to work, home, and community responsibilities. In turn these factors influence the functioning of a variety of formal and informal institutions in child-rearing--including families, schools, and other community-based organizations. There was general concern for the ways in which these influences are transmitted as well as their effects on children. Much existing research on the effects of policies and programs has focused on measures of children's personality development and cognitive performance, not on family functioning as it influences the activities in which children and parents are engaged, both separately and together. A notable example is the evaluation of parent education components of compensatory education programs. The working group discussions emphasized the importance of focusing on the impact of various policies on parents' and children's activities in different settings and on family functioning.

The remaining sections of this report are summaries of each of the working group discussions and several general suggestions for future research that had some consensus. Included as appendices are the six presentations of the first day and a list of participants in the Ad Hoc Meeting on Work, Family, and Community.

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Kamerman, Sheila B., and Kahn, Alfred J. (1980) Child Care, Family Benefits, and Working Parents: A Study in Comparative Policy. New York: Columbia University Press.

Pifer, Alan. Perceptions of childhood and youth. In 1978 Annual Report of the Carnegie Corporation of New York.

WORKING GROUP DISCUSSIONS

The five working group discussions provided an opportunity for participants to explore in greater depth the broad issues that were raised by the presentations of the first day. Each working group had an assigned topic, a chairman, a reporter, and 12-15 participants. Two objectives guided the assignment of participants to particular working groups: first, to match the experience and interests of the participants to the topics; second, to assemble a broad range of perspectives within each group.

All working group chairmen were asked to focus the discussions on several general questions in the context of the topics:

- What are the important aspects of current policy and practice and current policy debate?
- What is clearly known from existing data and research, and what is not known?
- What are the significant policy, state-of-the-art, and research issues?
- What are promising directions for future research to address these issues?
- To what extent have these research efforts produced a cumulative body of knowledge?
- Which of these directions seem appropriate to the concerns of the National Institute of Education and which would be more appropriately supported by other agencies and private sources?

Working groups varied in the amount of attention they gave to providing direct answers to these questions, because of the specific interests of participants and the dynamic of the discussions. Following the working group meetings, the five chairmen presented brief reports of their group discussions, and the full assembly of participants engaged in discussion.

TIME USE BY PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Chair: Elliott A. Medrich

The working group on time use by parents and children focused on the analytical and methodological possibilities of time-use research (1) as a tool with which to explore patterns of daily behavior among children and parents; and (2) as a way of identifying problems of particular populations that might warrant intervention or, at least,

require the attention of policy makers. Many of the issues associated with changing patterns of parental employment and family structure revolve around time and time management. Some people fear that, faced with many competing demands, time-pressed parents are spending less time with their children and the quality of their interactions has suffered. This in turn may have short-term or long-term deleterious effects on children. This problem has surfaced at a time when, as Cuban pointed out, institutions such as the schools are calling on parents to play a greater, not a lesser, role in their children's development.

The group argued that changes in employment patterns, family structure, and the social and economic conditions of life are reflected in the ways individuals spend their time. Hence, many of the questions raised during the meeting can be explored in terms of time-use behavior--for example, questions concerning child-rearing pressures associated with employment outside the home; those concerning family inputs into children's growth and development versus the inputs of other institutions and individuals; and those concerning the roles of parents and other family members as partners in the educational experience of children.

There are several kinds of time-use studies. First, there are general descriptive studies of how people spend time on a daily basis. These studies of the adult population usually involve large-scale data collection efforts; they have helped researchers and policy makers explore the changing nature of daily life in families of different backgrounds. Second, there are time-use studies that focus on a strategically sampled population--for example, time use by children in dual-career families, time use by children living with one parent, etc. These studies compare the behavior of these special populations with other groups to see whether and in what ways their "condition" affects their daily life. Several members of the group noted, however, that the nature and size of samples often makes it difficult to generalize the findings of these studies. A third type of time-use research focuses on kinds of activities--for example, child care, television viewing, shared parent-child activities, etc. These studies allow for comparison of the incidence (level of occurrence) and the amount of time that different populations spend in various pursuits. Many of the most powerful time-use studies have had this focus, although, again, the nature of the samples typically limits the possibility of generalized findings.

Given that time-use studies offer an oportunity to explore patterns of daily behavior, members of the working group noted some of the strengths and weakness of the time-use approach. At the very least data concerning how people spend their time may serve as social indicators of their well-being. At a more specific level, time-use studies may be a useful way of comparing the behavior of particular subgroups in the population with the behavior of other groups. Consider, for example, the families of handicapped children. It may well be the case that handicapped children use time in ways that differ significantly from those of other children. Time-use data could provide important clues regarding the needs of these children and their families (for social services, supplemental school support, etc.). Similarly, time-use studies may be a helpful way of exploring how children's lives are organized when parents have untraditional work schedules. If the nature of daily life is unusual in these families, this should be evident in studies of time use. Relationships among family members may vary, and the kinds of inputs

that parents are able to make to their children's development may differ as well.

Most studies of time use to date have focused on adults and adults' use of time. To the extent that there have been studies of children's time use, these have generally relied on adult reports of children's behavior. The working group noted that this is a distinct dilemma. Many issues concerned with children's development, health, and well-being require the child's perspective precisely because it may differ from that of adults. Children, for example, when they are interviewed, tend to report that they spend less time with their parents than the parents report they do--which may or may not be true. Nevertheless, it suggests that children do not necessarily view their parents as "attending" even if they are present, while parents may view their mere presence as an active input. Recently, researchers have demonstrated a growing interest in developing models of time-use behavior in which children themselves are the chief speakers on the conditions of childhood and daily life. The working group endorsed these efforts.

It was also suggested that in considering time use of children, time-use research may not tell us all that we would like to know about the meaning of time spent in various activities. It is easy to assume that the more time actually devoted to a particular activity, the greater its import. This fits well with the "rational" time allocation model that underlies most time-use research. Duration of behavior may not, however, define its meaning to a child, hence we must cautiously interpret data on such things as the amount of television children watch or the extent to which they contribute to the household economy.

To sharpen the interpretive aspects of time-use research, the working group endorsed the use of complementary methods of exploration. Ethnographies could focus on particular parts of children's days in the more intimate the settings in which they spend time. For example, it is well known that television takes up a large part of most children's days. Data show that it is the principal shared activity of most American families. Yet we know little about the environment in which television is viewed. We do not know very much about the role adults or peers play in mediating the effects of television viewing. Supplemental studies might also involve the use of structured questionnaires concerned with especially salient or critical types of time use. For instance, a major issue associated with changing patterns of parental employment is the need for an easiy available array of alternative child care arrangements. Although time-use studies have provided data about the amount of time that parents, other family members, and unrelated individuals spend in child care, they tell us very little about child care time, what it is like, how it affects children, how it affects parents who work, and how it affects caretakers. The group felt that it would also be appropriate to conduct attitudinal studies as a way of examining how children feel about the ways in which they spend their time. Finally, the need for longitudinal studies was discussed. Most time use research is cross-sectional, capturing individuals at a point in time. It is difficult to know with certainty whether the behavior being recorded at the time of the study has occurred in the past or will continue to occur in the future. Longitudinal studies would begin to suggest whether, as work patterns and family circumstances change, the manner in which parents and children use their time also changes in predictable ways.

Studies of time use, then, represent an interesting and useful way of describing how family circumstances and public policy (or lack thereof) affect children's daily behavior. But their full potential as research tools can most thoroughly be realized when they are undertaken in conjunction with other supplementary activities.

Members of the working group noted that there now exist a number of very large and complex time-use data bases as well as several small, strategically sampled time-use studies. These studies offer a variety of opportunities for secondary analysis. Given the expense involved in the collection of high-quality time-use data, strong interest was expressed in encouraging secondary analysis of existing data bases focusing on variables of particular topical import.

Finally, the working group agreed that beyond their contribution as social indicators of the conditions of children's daily lives, time-use data can be linked to a variety of other concerns about children's well-being--e.g., self-esteem, school achievement, perceptions of work and work roles, and knowledge of the community and community resources directed at children and families.

The relationship among everyday activities, time use, and children's life chances is complex. To understand them, the working group supports efforts to define issues amenable to description through time-use techniques as well as issues amenable to cause-effect modeling, when supplemented by other approaches.

FAMILY AND HOME

Chair: Eleanor E. Maccoby

The working group on family and home discussed two broad questions: (1) How, and how well, do working parents cope with the need to arrange care and supervision for their children? and (2) What are the consequences of parental employment on life within the family; in particular, what stresses are imposed? Several issues relevant to potential future research were raised in the context of each of these questions.

There was general agreement that a great deal of basic descriptive information is needed concerning the daily experiences of children as well as the degree, kind, and quality of supervision and interaction provided by adults. "Backup" care arrangements and care for sick children in particular have received little investigation. For example, it is alleged that there is higher absenteeism from school among girls aged 10-15 to care for a younger sibling who is sick. There was further agreement that it is essential to differentiate child care needs and arrangements by the age of the child and by the social and economic circumstances of the family. These general themes ran through much of the discussion. Concern was also expressed that the working group's focus on the working mother should not rule out a wider view of child care and family issues--including concern for mothers who choose to care for their own children and who seek child care for reasons other than work--as well as concern for how to involve fathers more actively in child-rearing.

One member of the group pointed out that a number of large-scale data bases exist that could contribute to knowledge about the activities and experiences of children of various ages, the kinds of child care arrangements on which working parents rely, and parents' perceptions of the adequacy of their neighborhoods as child-rearing environments. Despite their relevance, these data sources are not

widely known to researchers concerned with children and families. Several remain unpublished; most were collected for other purposes and only incidentally contain relevant information. These data sources include, among others:

(1) Data on victimization from the Law Enforcement Assistance Administration's national survey on criminal justice, which provide information about children as the victims of crimes.

(2) Data from the National Center for Educational Statistics on enrollment in various preprimary, primary, elementary, and secondary programs.

(3) Data from the Annual Housing Survey, conducted by the National Housing Association, which contains information on the perceived livableness of neighborhoods (e.g., level of violence, quality of schools, safety for children) as well as information on parental employment and numbers of children in households, by race and income.

(4) Data from the U.S. Bureau of the Census Survey of Income and Program Participation, one cycle of which will include information on day care and other child care arrangements.

While there was general agreement that such large-scale data bases should be made public and analyzed to the maximum extent possible, several cautions were also suggested. Responses to survey questions can be misleading. Parents, for example, often describe themselves as primary care givers, even when they are working full-time, thus leaving open the question of what happens to their children during the work day. (By one estimate, as many as two million elementary school children may be supervised by this kind of "remote control.") Also, national data are often aggregated across ages in ways that ignore crucial distinctions. For example, five-year-olds (many of whom attend public kindergarten) are frequently grouped with three- and four-year-olds; similarly, children from ages 6 through 13 are often grouped together, although parents and professionals see major differences in the ability of 6-9-year-olds, compared with older children, to care for themselves.

In a related discussion, the group explored in detail the problem of care for school-age children. It was suggested that a substantial body of research exists on care for preschool children, though many important questions still remain unanswered; there was consensus that formal care is needed for children of early elementary school age and younger. However, there is much less agreement on how much and what kind of care is needed for older children, and much less is known about how children 9-10 and older are supervised after school. It was suggested that supervision of older children, particularly girls, is a major concern that cuts across cultures and across ethnic and economic groups within the United States. Adolescent pregnancy is a universal concern in this regard. It was noted that there is a tension between the needs of older children or adolescents for independence and for supervision. Children require both intensive joint activity with adults and opportunities to try out and consolidate new skills and behavior patterns on their own in a protected situation. Little is known, however, about how to strike a balance between these needs and about the social support systems that can be drawn on to help meet them.

Considerable discussion focused on the importance of the traditional neighborhood as a social system for supervising and protecting older children while allowing them to "roam" and choose

their own activities. Research shows that roaming has historically been a major activity of older children and adolescents. Recent data, however, indicate that parents in cities fear for the physical safety of their children and see their neighborhoods as sources of stress rather than support in child-rearing. The group speculated that in the past roaming took place under the informal surveillance of neighbors and kin, whereas children now may lack such supervision, particularly in urban environments. The increased separation of home and workplace as well as the increased social and geographic mobility of families may have contributed to the anonymity of children in their neighborhoods. Some researchers suggest that one result may be that peer group influences play a more significant role in shaping adolescent behavior. Peer groups differ in the extent to which they are subject to adult influence and/or serve pro-social values; concern was expressed about a possible shift in the nature as well as the weight of peer influence. There was general agreement that these speculations should be explored through further empirical study.

One member of the group noted that the increase in parental employment may have reduced the pool of adult volunteers available to supervise older children in such activities as clubs and scouting. Another member pointed out that federally subsidized programs of care and education for young children often involve federal matching of local contributions, which sometimes take the form of donated labor. Loss of volunteer time, therefore, has a significant multiplier effect on a program's total funding.

Finally, discussion was devoted to the fragmentation of children's time and social networks that may be engendered by moving a child from one care setting to another over the course of the day or week--for example, from school to a day care center to a neighborhood play group. Such movements may provide variety and stimulation, but little is known about the effects of such movement on the child's sense of attachment, security, and continuity.

Closely related to the fragmentation of children's time is fragmentation of authority over children. One member of the group suggested that this fragmentation can lead to sharp discontinuities in a child's experience of the adult world and may weaken the discretionary power of families vis-a-vis that of outside institutions. For example, parents who are opposed to corporal punishment might live in school districts in which such punishment is accepted practice. The consequences of such "policy" conflicts between the nome and other institutions with partial responsibility for child care largely remain to be investigated.

Discussion of interactions within the family centered on identifying the multiple sources of stress engendered by parental employment as well as ways of coping with such stress. The intent of the discussion was not to make family stress an argument against parental employment, but rather to realistically examine the problems involved and the contribution that research might make to alleviate those problems.

Research on time allocation by dual-worker couples indicates that such couples manage their work responsibilities and preserve time for their children, but that spousal relationships, relationships with friends, and other adult leisure activities frequently suffer. It was acknowledged, however, that the presence of another adult (for example, a grandparent) may make a difference in this regard. Little is known about how these time pressures affect the quality of parent-child interactions, which acquire special significance and intensity when parental time is tightly constrained. Parents are likely to feel

compelled to make maximum use of the time they have with their children, and they operate with the disadvantage of little shared knowledge about the events of their children's day. A related although extreme example is the divorced father who feels compelled to set up a busy schedule of activities when he visits with his children. Similarly, little is known about long-run secondary effects of parental stress on children. For example, the reduced time many working parents have to devote to their marriages may result in situations of divorce, which are likely to affect children profoundly. In short, there was agreement that time-use studies set a useful framework for examining parental stress and its developmental affects, but that qualitative investigations are needed as well.

Special attention was given to the problem of "role overload" in the working-class family. Given the fact that both wage earners in average two-income families tend to be below national averages in individual income, economic stress appears to be an added factor in the decision to work and is likely to increase interpersonal stress within the family as well. Income figures suggest that economic stress is particularly acute for nonwhite families. Hence, the group concluded, there is an evident need for research on parental stress that differentiates according to social strata and ethnic groups.

Considerable discussion was also devoted to possible historical trends in the amount of time demanded by paid work and the amount of time required for household labor. Group members noted some ambiguity about whether the time demands of the workplace are growing or shrinking. The answer, it was agreed, is largely dependent on the specific type of job and the time frame used for historical comparison. With respect to household labor, for most families there appears to have been a reduction in the amount of time spent on at-home chores, such as cooking and laundry, but a compensating increase in out-of-home chores, such as shopping. Low-income families have experienced less reduction in household labor than other families because they are generally less able to purchase mechanical aids, convenience foods, or household services. One member pointed out that at-home labor provides a natural context for supervising and instructing children. A reduction in household labor may have diminished the ability of children to perform a useful function, such as helping with chores, and may consequently have changed in some fundamental way the nature of parent-child interactions. Another member of the group also speculated that reduction in household demands may have increased the desire of women to find psychic satisfaction in work outside the home.

In summary, the working group on family and home identified a wide range of issues related to child care arrangements, stresses within the family, and relationships between these two crucial problem areas for parents in the labor force. In addition, the group identified a spectrum of research methods that could usefully be brought to bear on these problems--ranging from large-scale surveys and secondary analyses of existing large data bases to descriptive studies of the routine daily experiences of children or working parents to intensive, qualitative and quantitative studies of adult-child interaction in the family and in other child care settings.

COMMUNITY SUPPORT SYSTEMS

Chair: Mary Jo Bane

The working group on community support systems focused on families' needs and their access to supports and services within the community as well as the nature and content of those services. In this context, the group was also concerned with the obstacles to service that many families in need experience. In speaking of community support systems, members of the working group agreed to discuss both formal and informal elements, including kin and neighbors as well as churches, voluntary organizations, public agencies, and schools. They stressed the crucial and continuing importance of the informal and self-help aspects of the system, particularly--but not only--in times of diminishing resources for public services. In short, there was consensus that community support systems involve a variety of overlapping and interconnected activities and interrelationships that are available to families in the local settings in which they live.

Several themes emerged during the course of the discussion. First, community support systems, both formal and informal, and the supports and services they provide or fail to provide affect opportunities for learning, growth, and development. Hence, understanding the educational system and its influence on learning requires an understanding of the way in which other related community support systems function as well. As a corollary, several members of the working group suggested that formal education in turn affects how well community support systems function. The degree to which individuals will rely on a particular support or service and the consequent success or failure they experience are to some extent related to how the educational system operates. People must learn to draw on the resources that are available to them--to "work the system." Therefore, many would view it as a responsibility of the educational system to teach skills in self-help (survival) and in helping others through both formal and informal means.

A second theme, which raised some controversy, pertains to the role of the schools in providing services--other than their traditional role in providing education--to children and families in the community. Some felt that the question should be resolved in favor of letting the schools extend the kinds of services they are best able to provide--for example, extended day (before and after school) programs--while freeing them from the necessity to expand into areas beyond their competence. According to this view, the schools would provide some services directly--for example, preschool and custodial care--and broker others. Other group members pointed out, however, that in comparison to other community-based service delivery systems the schools may be best equipped to diversify their role to include providing child health and mental health services and promoting adequate nutrition.

A third related theme is the appropriate role of formal versus informal systems, beyond the schools, in providing various supports and services. There was general agreement that issues concerning the appropriate auspices for service delivery depend to a large extent on how these systems are perceived by both individuals receiving aid and those who are providing it. Because these perceptions may vary from community to community and from group to group, the configuration of service programs and the extent to which they are used may vary significantly. There are, for example, services, such as meal

preparation, which have traditionally been provided in informal contexts like the home. Other services, such as health care, are perceived as appropriately delivered in more formal contexts, such as clinics or hospitals. Perceptions of what constitutes an appropriate context for delivering particular services are generally situational, although they may also involve a shared desire not to overload one or another system.

In this context, issues concerning the role of volunteerism versus that of paid services were also raised. It was noted that, depending on the context in which services are provided to meet the needs of children and their families and the nature of those services, the effective functioning of informal systems can either be enhanced or undermined. Ironically, some publicly provided services that exist to support parents and children have actually had the effect either of inhibiting the family's ability to meet its own needs or of effectively pulling families apart. A member of the group pointed out, for example, that in one state, in order to qualify for homemaker services that would help a mother care for her children at home, she must allow herself to be defined as an inadequate parent. Because of the way in which regulations pertaining to services for abused and neglected children are interpreted, however, her declaration of inadequacy often may result in the removal of her children from the home and their placement in foster care. Similarly, in order to gain federal funds for foster care, many states process children through the courts, labeling them as abused, neglected, or unwanted, even though, in many cases, their parents seek help voluntarily. The group concluded that more attention should be given to identifying ways to strengthen the functioning of informal systems.

There was general agreement in the group that future research efforts should move in several identifiable directions. First, more effort should be devoted to developing and understanding the configuration of community supports and services. We have learned a great deal in recent years about the existence and nature of various formal and informal systems that operate at the community level. We know much less, however, about how these systems articulate with one another and how families make decisions about where to go for help--under what circumstances they rely on themselves and their neighbors and under what circumstances they go to public or private agencies, clinics, etc. What factors condition their perceptions of the value and utility of various services? What organizational, cultural, and economic factors constitute barriers to receiving support in either informal or formal contexts, and may thereby leave significant numbers of families in need without any assistance at all? In this context, participants agreed it would be useful to begin to clarify whether certain services can only be provided successfully in particular contexts. For example, are there services that must be personally provided, even if it is more costly and less efficient to do so, simply because recipients will not accept them in any other fashion?

Second, more attention should be devoted to understanding the ways in which formal and informal systems can support healthy patterns of growth and development and can be stimulated to support families in their efforts to nurture children. How does the availability of services or the lack of availability contribute to families' capcities to perform child-rearing functions? An interesting and related concern involves understanding how the availability of services to meet the special needs of one member of the family--for example, a handicapped child--affects a family's ability to adequately meet the needs of its other members.

Third, the group agreed that research is needed to increase our knowledge of unmet demands for support and services. Questions concerning how to identify such needs have generally gone unanswered. Undoubtedly, however, the answers will depend on a more complete understanding of how families in different social and economic circumstances function, how they spend their time, etc. In this context, one member suggested that it will be important to learn more about the geographical aspects of peoples' lives--the physical settings of their homes and neighborhoods, where they work and shop and go to school--since location, distance, and physical environment affect access to supports and services and, consequently, unmet needs. Similarly, developing an understanding of unmet needs also suggests identifying possible demands for brokering services. To the extent that formal systems appear to be complicated and impenetrable because of rules and regulations governing service delivery, families may need help and guidance in using the resources that are available to them.

A fourth avenue for future research would examine factors that enhance or detract from the ability of individuals and families to help themselves and to help each other. Developing an understanding of these factors would be useful in designing ways to strengthen informal systems. How significant are constraints of time, energy, and money in the family? Are there ways in which the current configuration of services undermines the effective functioning of informal systems while overloading formal systems, such as the schools? To what extent does the illogic of government programs such as Medicaid provide disincentives that make it financially unwise for families to help themselves? What kinds of interventions can be developed to help people help themselves? And in this context, what is an appropriate role for the educational system or television?

Finally, the working group agreed that more studies aimed at identifying the characteristics of effective service delivery systems are needed. One member suggested that there are both technological and nurturing aspects of service delivery; understanding how these two work together is important. In medical care, for example, there is the technological task of diagnosing disease, locating broken bones, etc., and treating these ailments. There is also the important nurturing task of helping patients understand what they have to do to help themselves recover and motivating them to do it. Understanding how these two aspects are related might lead to improvements in service delivery. In addition, understanding more about the nature and characteristics of effective service delivery sites may lead to improvements as well. What makes particular sites appropriate for the delivery of particular services?

In summary, the working group on community support systems explored a variety of issues concerning the roles and relationships between formal and informal supports and services in the community. Members suggested several fruitful topics for future study involving a variety of methodological approaches. Most notably, in this regard, the group emphasized the need to explore the possible use of existing data sources wherever possible, instead of assuming that new insights and understanding must necessarily come from the collection of new data.

POLICIES AND PRACTICES IN THE WORKPLACE

Chair: John W. Kingsbury

The working group on policies and practices in the workplace focused its attentions on the effects of employer-provided benefits and services on working parents and their families. The group organized discussion around four broadly stated concerns: (1) What are the direct and indirect supports available to employee-parents through the workplace? (2) What do working parents need, want, and expect in the way of support from the workplace? (3) What social institutions are most appropriate to distribute the services and supports that working parents want and need? And at what rate should or can we alter existing systems to meet these needs? (4) What research in the area of family-work interactions is desirable or necessary?

The working group immediately acknowledged enormous diversity in the types of workplace and the family circumstances of employees--diversity that has produced a variety of responses in the kind and quality of benefits and services offered by employers to support workers and their families. With this in mind, one group member offered an overview of what could be seen as the "forefront" response by employers to the needs of working parents. One category of reactions was referred to as direct replies to working parents. These include systematic attempts to develop feedback concerning the types of support employees want and need from their employers. Feedback mechanisms vary widely in configuration, in part as a reflection of the size and formality of structures in the workplace. The purpose of these systems is to provide steady input from individual employees about what they need and want from the workplace to help them manage their roles as parent and worker. Policies and practices that have been adopted by various employers include: (1) Parental leave, both maternal and paternal, usually for some prearranged time surrounding the birth of a new child, but in some cases also available for parents during periods of childhood stress or family crisis. (2) Benefit packages offered to part-time employees that are comparable to those offered to full-time employees. (3) A cafeteria approach to benefits, which allows an employee to select particular benefits according to the requirements of his or her family situations. (4) Sick leave that can be used not only for employee sickness but also for the care of sick family members. (5) Day care services offered by the employer at the workplace or subsidized in some other way such as by vouchers. (6) Flexible time employment arrangements (including all other leave policies except part-time employment), ranging from rigid flextime scheduling to highly individual arrangements that may or may not predetermine the hours or place of work. This could also include under-time or a systematic time-off policy, which is an exchange of less pay throughout the year for more days off at prearranged times. (7) Management training in child care needs designed to sensitize management to the problems of working parents. (8) Linkages of workplace and families--for example, organized activities, visits to the workplace, and permission to bring sick children to work--that act to reduce the tension between the spheres of work and family. (9) Employee assistance and counseling that is child- and family-related. (10) A review of transfer moves and travel policies, including needed assistance for other members of the family, especially job relocation for the spouse.

A second direct response to changing patterns of parental employment is the growing lobbying effort by women's groups and labor unions for national attention to the issues raised in the relationship of work and family functioning. Still other reinforcements offered by the workplace may be more indirect. An example would be a systematic posting system throughout an employer's operation to inform employees of job openings. New patterns of work location and transportation assistance belong in this category as well.

Members of the group cautioned that while these represent significant examples of policies with which some employers are experimenting, it is necessary to recognize that such supports are available only to a small proportion of the working population. They also cautioned that while it is important not to regard problems arising from the tensions between work and family life as strictly associated with women's employment, it would be unrealistic not to recognize that the majority of workers severely affected by these conflicts are women. Approximately 80 percent of working women are in female labor-intensive industries that historically are underrepresented in labor unions, and frequently these women are employed in small businesses that provide few benefits. Hence, it is important to examine the extent to which potential employer-provided supports available in large corporate settings are also applicable to smaller working environments. The problem is not the existence of benefits but their distribution: the majority of workers receive few, if any.

The working group also noted that the needs of employees in different social and economic situations may be quite different. For example, situations may be different for families with professional and nonprofessional workers. The requirements of a family in which both parents work may also differ significantly from the needs of a family in which only one parent works. Because individual needs are so disparate it may be necessary to contemplate "asymmetrical" solutions to problems involving appropriate policies and practices in the workplace. The group agreed that a theme that should be developed is the responsibility of employers to promote the development of the family in ways that are not detrimental to productivity and profits. A practical example of a successful approach is that of the Control Data Corporation in Minnesota. The company discovered in attempts to employ hard-core unemployed people that those who succeeded on the job had minimal problems at home. Control Data then instituted a general family counseling and support program to help employees gain access to resources available in the community.

Members of the working group also suggested the importance of learning what employee-parents think would help them in managing their work and family responsibilities. One participant cited a survey done by the National Commission on Working Women through a national magazine. The survey indicated that a factor of critical importance to working parents is the lack of time they have to deal effectively with their families. Members of the group suggested that this need for more time could be met to some extent by providing worker-parents opportunities to meet unforeseen family problems without penalty--for example, having the freedom to take time off to respond to the telephone call of a sick or bleeding child without recriminations from the employer. A finding of one private survey of working women was mentioned: among a staff of mostly professional women, the majority were more interested in the same careerist type of benefits that men desire, rather than day care or other family-oriented services. Ironically, however, for these women the primary job complaint was

also the lack of time available outside work to spend with their families. Hence, the working group agreed that it is necessary to systematically inquire what parents who work want and need. There should be some sorting (disaggregation) of this data according to employment characteristics and socioeconomic characteristics of employees.

One participant proposed viewing the tensions between work and family as a labor market competition between domestic and workplace spheres, with emphasis on labor productivity in the workplace. As long as employers regard a largely male work force supported by "homekeeping" mates as the most profitable arrangement, then working women will not receive the support they need to keep them working in the marketplace. Hence, a valuable line of research may be to investigate the patterns of child socialization in home and school that influence attitudes about work and the workplace and will result in the most productive work force both now and in the future.

The working group then turned from the discussion of what working parents want and need and how employers are responding to focus on two other issues: (1) what can we afford, i.e., at what rate can we affect social change; and (2) what social institutions are most appropriate to meet the needs of parents in the labor force and their children. It was pointed out that industry may not have the skills to provide some services, as evidenced by the many failures in employer-provided day care. There are, however, other initiatives that could very profitably be taken by employers--for example, liberal leave coordinated with industry slow times. Members suggested that there need not be a negative social cost to employers for providing help to working parents. It would, for example, be relatively easy for an employer, who is unable to provide a service directly, to apprise workers of where comparable benefits and services are available in the community. In addition, there is, between supports that cost relatively little to provide and those that are inappropriate to industry, a realm of possible supports that require some employee contribution in the form of a reduction in their wage. Acceptance of the idea of asymmetrical benefits by both workers and employers was again mentioned as a means of allowing workers to help determine what benefits are offered in the workplace.

A caution was interjected: there are not only economic costs associated with some of these supports but social costs as well, which may fall on individuals other than employers and employees. These also need to be considered. An example is the displacement and career damage suffered by a spouse of an employee who is transferred. It was noted that some industries and employers, which have a mobile work force, may be better able than others to prevent this hardship by providing employment opportunities for spouses.

The group agreed that future research should address a wide range of topics concerning the interrelationships of work and family. A framework was proposed and generally accepted that suggests organizing research around four problem or issue areas: (1) What do employee-parents want and how can they get it? (2) What is the current configuration of employment policies and practices? What is the context of work, including firm size, full-time or part-time employment, etc.? Is it a public or private employer? What are wage and fringe benefit differentials, total compensation, etc.? What benefits are now in place in different work settings and what are they worth to the employees who receive them? (3) How have these policies and practices evolved? An examination is needed of the process of change over time. Did employees gain benefits as the result of a

claiming process or by business decisions? How did the present package of benefits, compensation, etc. come into existence? Why do two firms in the same industry have different policies? (4) Who can and should do what? What is appropriate for the family? What is appropriate for community institutions and organizations? What is appropriate for industry? And what is appropriate for government? (5) What do we currently know about relevant problems, issues, and outcomes?

Other suggestions for research include:

(1) A detailed look at the demographic characteristics of workers who, during the course of their work life, are also parents. This would require disaggregation of data on the basis of types of work, how many employees are parents of young children, adolescents, or grown children, and employer organization. It would also suggest an examination of the changing degree of attachment of women to the workplace over time. Have they worked on a full-time or part-time basis, and at what stage in their children's development?

(2) An examination of channels for communicating employee needs and concerns to employers. How do decision makers get the information they need? This machinery appears to work best if it is a "steady state device," that is, available at any time to deal with employee crises. But there is a need for more data.

(3) Policy research that evaluates the ultimate "social good" of potential changes in employment policies and practices.

(4) An examination of the context in which employer policies are made. Context can have an enormous effect on the way a particular policy develops. For example, the effect of tax laws are a major variable in decisions concerning benefit packages.

(5) Consideration of the work costs (career costs) to parents of bearing and rearing children. What are the adjustments women make? What income, advancement opportunities, etc. are foregone in the workplace to meet parental responsibilities?

(6) Assessments of the feasibility of implementing various employment policies and practices. Assuming that we knew what changes to make, what are the problems of bringing about change by government and corporate and not-for-profit employers? What rate of change is acceptable to various institutions and to society? What are the proper agencies to bring about change? And what types of change are appropriate in different work settings?

(7) Understanding how government influences parents in their roles as parents and as workers. What is the role of government policies and programs in shaping the working life of parents? How, for example, do the income tax penalties imposed on two-earner couples affect decisions concerning family formation and labor force participation?

(8) Understanding the impact of work and work policies on the family. How does work affect the family, both parents and children, including the time they spend together, the development of role models, and personal relationships?

THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMS

Chair: Sheila B. Kamerman

The working group on the role of government policies and programs focused on three major categories of issues: (1) the consequences for

child socialization of different parent behaviors, both in the family and at the workplace; (2) the role of various government policies and programs in shaping parent behaviors affecting children's well-being; and (3) the role of the schools in addressing families' social needs. The one pervasive theme that emerged from the group's discussion of these categories of issues is the absence of firm knowledge in any of these areas. Consequently, the discussion broadly addressed the questions of relevant policy issues, research questions, and needed knowledge.

Discussion about the consequences for child socialization of different types of parent behaviors raised a number of broad issues that overlap the concerns of other working groups. Specifically, several group members pointed out that we lack sufficient understanding of how families in different social and economic circumstances manage both work life and family life. What are the special problems faced by single parents, for example, who play the dual role of parent and breadwinner? Or what are the special problems of dual-worker families, particularly migrant families? Or of teenage parents who are trying to obtain an education as well as earn a decent income and be good parents? To what extent have there been adjustments in parents' behavior and in their relationships to their children as a result of changing patterns of employment and family structure? It was suggested by one group member that, because we have so little data about how families actually cope, it is difficult to know the extent to which family life has been altered for those in different social and economic circumstances and to measure the consequences for children. Among inner-city black and ethnic families, large numbers of mothers have long been in the labor force. Though we can observe changes in their employment status (more are being channeled into government and corporate support and management positions than into domestic jobs), we know little about the effects these shifts have had on family life. There was agreement that future research should focus on developing a better understanding of how families manage in light of the dramatic social and cultural changes that are occurring in our society, and on measuring the extent to which these changes have altered parent behaviors with respect to children. Two specific research approaches were suggested: (1) a large-scale survey of how parents currently manage work and family responsibilities, and (2) a retrospective study of individuals who experienced growing up in family settings in which parents had alternative employment patterns in order to learn something about the long-term effects of these circumstances.

In discussing the role of various government policies and programs that influence parent behaviors, group members agreed to focus broadly on the activities of federal, state, and local governments. Three overarching questions dominated the discussion. What is the appropriate role of government at different levels with respect to children, to parents, and to employers? What is known about effective government policies and programs at each level? What are the specific consequences of existing legislation and regulations on parent and child behaviors and relationships?

There was strong agreement among members of the working group that in fact very little systematic knowledge exists to provide answers to these questions. Although a host of narrowly targeted service programs exist and have been initiated at all levels of government, evaluations of their effects have generally been limited to specific measures of cost, coverage, and outcomes as indicated by standardized test performance and the like. These evaluations have not for the

most part examined programs in the broader context of other interventions that influence parents' and children's behavior, family relationships, and family functioning. Similarly, these studies have generally not examined outcomes more broadly for their effects on the environments in which children are nurtured, such as classrooms, day care centers, playgrounds, homes, etc. For example, the extent to which compensatory education programs or day care programs can stimulate parent participation may have very positive effects on parent-child relationships and interactions, yet may not be reflected in cognitive gains as they are measured on standardized tests.

In addition to direct service programs, a variety of government initiatives influences families. These include cash subsidies for child care, earned income and child care tax credits that are provisions of the individual income tax system, government incentives to employers to provide services and benefits needed by employees, and also regulatory policies that govern the expenditure of public monies for various services such as child care or education. Again, the working group agreed that much more systematic study is needed to understand the risks and benefits of alternative supports and services--for example, cash or vouchers versus direct provision of services--and to understand how government actions at all levels affect the supply and demand for services in the marketplace. Among the specific research approaches that were suggested were: (1) comparative studies of categorical versus integrated service delivery approaches to children and their families; (2) studies of current patterns of public funding for services and particularly the impact of public funding of privately provided programs on their management and outcomes; (3) studies of how tax credits and cash subsidies, for day care, for example, are being used to meet families' needs; and (4) a national survey of states to collect data concerning their role in supporting and delivering services, in order to determine what services they are now providing, to which population groups, at what costs to whom, and with what outcomes.

Finally, in its discussion of the role of the schools and their capacity to meet the needs of children and their families, the working group raised a number of specific issues and directions for future research. Again, lack of systematic knowledge emerged as a major concern early in the discussion. At the most basic level, little is known about the variety of services that are provided through the schools in different communities, including preschool programs, extended day programs for children of working parents, vocational and parent education for adolescents, special supports and services for pregnant teenagers, special services for handicapped children, information and referral concerning assistance available through other public agencies, etc. Because we lack a coherent picture of what ancillary services are provided through the schools, it is difficult to know the availability of such programs across school systems, their costs, their outcomes for children and families, and their effects, if any, on the capacity of the schools to effectively perform their traditional role as educators.

Specific issues that were raised include the impact of changing parental employment patterns on school participation. For example, what difference does parents' employment status make for decisions to enroll children in public or private schools? What impact does parental employment have on student attendance and absenteeism and on student participation in various curricular, extracurricular, and summer school activities? A second issue concerns the impact of changing employment patterns on parent participation in schools. For

example, what effects does parental employment in different families (single-parent families, dual-career families, etc.) have on parent participation in educational decision making and governance and on their attitudes toward and satisfaction with the schools? A third issue involves the effects of changing patterns of youth participation in the labor force. For example, what effects has increased youth labor force participation had on secondary school achievement and on demands placed on schools to provide vocational education and counseling? What processes exist for enhancing learning opportunities within principal places of youth employment? The working group agreed that many of these issues could be addressed in smaller targeted research studies.

In summary, the working group on the role of government policies and programs explored a variety of issues concerning the availability and effects of public supports and services on families in which parents work. Members also suggested a variety of research approaches to address these issues, ranging from large-scale survey studies to longitudinal studies to smaller analyses of the roles of particular institutions, programs, and population groups. The major emphasis in all of these suggestions, however, was the fundamental need to increase our knowledge of what families in different social and economic circumstances need, what existing policies and programs do to meet those needs, and what effects they have on parents and children.

DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The summaries of the working group discussions indicate the extent to which the ad hoc meeting accomplished its main objectives--to present a menu of salient policy and research issues associated with changing patterns of labor force participation and family structure; to suggest the extent to which existing studies have been helpful in resolving these issues; and to identify promising directions for future research. These summaries reflect many different perspectives on important issues as well as interests in a variety of methodological approaches. Although each working group generated a number of specific suggestions for future research, several common topics and approaches were presented, which are summarized below.

DESCRIPTIVE INFORMATION ABOUT THE DAILY LIVES OF PARENTS AND CHILDREN

Any interest in designing new programs or improving government and corporate policies to enhance the well-being of families must be based on a much better and more detailed understanding of how families in different social and economic circumstances manage their daily lives--including (a) the amount of time adults and children spend in various activities separately and together, within the home and outside the family in schools, day care, work, social activities, etc.; (b) the ways in which parents interact with their children and the types of inputs they have in their children's development; (c) the types of stress that are present for both parents and children as a result of the conditions of their lives; and (d) the informal and formal supports and services outside the family--in the community, at the workplace, and through government programs--on which they rely to support family functioning. In collecting such information, attention should be given to the special circumstances created by different family structures (e.g., single-parent families, teenage families, extended families, and communal living arrangements), by different parental employment patterns (e.g., single-wage-earner families, dual-career families, part-time and shared-job situations), by different economic, racial, ethnic, and religious factors (e.g., the urban poor, blacks, Hispanics, migrant families, etc.), and by other special conditions (e.g., the presence of a handicapped family member). Such information would provide an essential basis for further analysis to help researchers and policy makers understand and resolve specific issues.

The development of knowledge concerning the daily lives of parents and children suggests several complementary methodological approaches in addition to those now being pursued. The first would involve time-use studies focused on both particular populations, as distinguished by salient characteristics, and significant activities or pursuits. A second approach would involve longitudinal studies to trace the long-

term patterns of time use and interactions among parents and children. A third would be ethnographic studies that explore the origins and characteristics of the behavior and interactions of parents and children in particular settings or situations. Similarly, observational studies would be helpful in examining how children relate to parents and other caretakers under different circumstances and in different environments. Attitudinal studies based on interviews with children and parents would be valuable in learning how individuals feel about their patterns of daily life, about sources of stress, and about their relationships and interactions with others at home, in the workplace, at school, or in the variety of other settings in which they spend time. These methodological approaches would produce complementary results, thereby constructing as complete a picture as possible. Participants agreed, however, that all efforts to improve understanding in this area need not involve the costly collection of new data. A variety of data bases, which have been developed for other purposes over the past several years, offer opportunities for analysis or reanalysis along dimensions relevant to understanding the daily life of American families.

THE ROLE OF SCHOOLS AS SUPPORT SYSTEMS FOR FAMILIES

Following on Cuban's presentation on schools, several of the working groups discussed the need to learn more about roles the schools currently play in providing supports and services to families in different social and economic circumstances. Schools have frequently been cited as the most pervasive public institution in this country. They are present in every community and in almost every neighborhood. At various points in their history they have been called on to play a greater or lesser role in supporting children's growth and development, depending largely on other social demographic, economic, and cultural factors influencing society at the time. Today as we find ourselves experiencing dramatic shifts in patterns of labor force participation and family structure, the schools have, to a great extent, become the focal points of change in our society. They have also become targets of controversy concerning their appropriate role in meeting the needs of families beyond simply teaching traditional cognitive skills.

At the most basic level, much more descriptive information is needed concerning the types of curricular and extracurricular activities that go on in schools. What services do they provide to which populations within the community--for example, extended day programs, preschool, adult education, nutrition for the elderly, vocational and parent education for adolescents, etc.? How widespread are these types of services in schools systems across the country? And how widespread is the demand for them? How are they financed? How are they governed? What are the incentives and disincentives within the organization and structure of schools that affect their capacity to provide such services in addition to traditional educational curricula?

Beyond basic description of what goes on, however, analyses of the outcomes of providing various ancillary services through the schools are also required. So, too, are analyses of how changing social and economic conditions affect demands placed on schools as service providers. For example, how do school-based programs articulate with other formal and informal community-based services? Is there

significant duplication or overlap? How well can schools meet the special needs of children of different ages--particularly those of adolescents? How do changing patterns of labor force participation and family structure affect demands that are placed on schools? And what consequences do school-based services have for children's growth and development and their relationships to parents, peers, and other members of the community? What service roles and tasks have negative consequences for schools in relation to their other educational functions? How effectively do schools serve families in the community in comparison with other institutions and organizations--for example, churches, social service agencies, clinics, etc.? And how does the provision of ancillary services in school settings affect the capacity of those institutions to effectively meet their traditional educational responsibilities?

Studies to address these questions may involve several methodological approaches. Among these would be a national survey of school systems to collect basic information concerning the types of activities that these institutions sponsor and the demand for such activities. In addition, it would involve more targeted analyses of the effectiveness of school-based services and client satisfaction. Such research may rely on site visits, interviews with parents, children, teachers, and school administrators as well as more traditional evaluations of cost-effectiveness. Finally, ethnographic studies of how the role of educational institutions in selected communities has evolved would be extremely useful in predicting future demands on schools and their capacity to respond effectively.

WORKPLACE BENEFITS AND SERVICES TO WORKER-PARENTS

In the working group on policies and practices in the workplace, the discussion began with a roster of benefits and services now provided by some employers to meet the needs of employee-parents. Among those mentioned were maternity and paternity leave policies, special leave for child illness or family crisis, child care vouchers and on-site day care programs, flexible benefit packages that allow workers to select the types of insurance, profit sharing, leave, etc. most suited to their needs, and nontraditional work scheduling, including policies such as flextime, part-time work, and off-site jobs. Although it is well known that corporations, governments, and not-for-profit employers are beginning to experiment with these types of employment practices and employee fringe benefits, we have little systematic knowledge of how widespread they are. Clearly, it is more feasible for large corporations to provide generous benefits than for small businesses to do so. Yet small businesses employ vast numbers of people, many of whom are parents. As a first step, much more needs to be learned about the types of benefits and services provided by different types of employers, the types of feedback mechanisms that exist to report worker needs stemming from their roles as parents, and the extent to which they are used by employees.

Beyond the collection of basic descriptive data concerning workplace policies and practices, we need to better understand how these alternative benefits and services affect parents in their roles as workers and in their roles as parents. How do such benefits and services articulate with worker preferences? Do liberal leave and work scheduling policies, for example, help reduce absenteeism and increase worker productivity? In what types of employment do specific benefits and services prove feasible? Do such policies help relieve

many of the sources of stress that affect parents in the labor force? We also need to examine how such policies influence parent behaviors and their relationships with their spouses and children. Do parents spend more time with their families? Is the quality of that time improved? Do they participate more actively in school governance and decision making or in other programs in which their children are involved--for example, cooperative nurseries, play groups, organized sports, etc.? Finally, we need to examine the direct and indirect consequences of employment policies and practices for children themselves. How is performance in school affected? How is school absenteeism or tardiness affected? How are children's attitudes and perceptions of work and the workplace influenced? In sum, research is needed to clarify essential roles for families themselves, for big corporations, for small businesses, for unions, etc.

As with an examination of the role of the schools, studying employer-provided benefits and services for worker-parents will require several methodological approaches. First, a survey is needed of employment policies and practices in different types of work settings and the extent to which employees use them. In addition, special analyses are needed of the effects of employer-provided benefits and services on parents as workers, on parents as family members, and on the children of parents in the labor force. These may take several forms, including site visits, interviews with employers, employees, their spouses, and their children, and evaluations of worker productivity and school performance. Finally, studies to track the effects of various employment policies and practices over time would facilitate the identification of initiatives that could be taken by government and industry to enhance the well-being of worker-parents and their families.

GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMS THAT AFFECT FAMILY WELL-BEING

During the course of the meeting numerous policies and programs initiated by government at all levels--federal, state, and local--were cited for their impact on families and on families' ability to cope with changing social, economic, demographic, and cultural conditions. Many of these government initiatives involve the direct provision of categorical services; others involve public financing of services provided by private institutions and organizations; and still others involve cash subsidies to families, vouchers, individual income tax relief, tax incentives to employers, and regulations. Little is known about the array of these government policies and programs, particularly those that are initiated at the state and local level. What are they? To whom are they available? By whom are they used? By whom are they provided? At what costs? Are there significant differences between states and localities? To what extent do they duplicate or overlap other programs and initiatives? To what extent do they fail to meet the needs of target populations?

Beyond this general mapping of government policies and programs, systematic knowledge concerning the outcomes of such initiatives is also missing. As the working group on the role of government policies and programs discussed, although many federally supported categorical services have been evaluated, outcome measures have for the most part been narrowly defined. They have failed to examine how services provided in one program affect the cost, quality, and demand for services provided in other programs. They have given less attention

to measuring the broad effects on the sites at which services are provided; and, similarly, they have for the most part given little attention to direct and indirect effects on children, parents, and service providers, and, most important, on family functioning. Aside from the provision of services, there exists very little research on the effects of cash and voucher programs, income tax provisions, and regulations. What use is being made of these benefits? Although we know, for example, that the child care tax credit provided approximately $600 million in benefits to parents in the labor force in 1978, we do not have any systematic understanding of which families took advantage of the provision, how they spent the money, and with what effects on family functioning and children's development.

In addition, in countries other than the United States, a variety of family-oriented service and benefit packages exist to support families in need. These include--for example, housing benefits, public preschool programs, family allowances, and paid leave for mothers (and, in some cases, fathers) who drop out of the labor force temporarily when children are very young. Currently these policies do not exist in the United States, but they should be carefully examined for lessons concerning their consequences for family formation and functioning. How beneficial are such government initiatives? How costly are they? How feasible would their implementation be in this country?

To begin to address these questions, several types of research are required. First, a general mapping of government programs--particularly at the state and local level--is needed to clarify the costs and coverage of these initiatives. Second, more specific analyses of the effects of programs and policies--particularly of cash subsidies and income tax provisions. And third, although a significant body of research is now being developed in this area, more comparative cross-national studies are needed to explore the potential effectiveness and feasibility of other government initiatives for enhancing the well-being of children and their families.

EFFECTIVE SERVICE DELIVERY APPROACHES

Participants in the meeting emphasized the need to understand more about factors that contribute to effective service delivery and to identify promising approaches for the provision of services. Understanding the dynamics of effective service delivery requires more systematic knowledge of the relationship between the technological and human (nurturing) aspects of providing services. It also requires more knowledge about what constitutes an appropriate site for the provision of particular types of services, about management needs, about institutional and organizational constraints, about the use of professional, paraprofessional, and volunteer service providers, and about the impact of people's perceptions concerning the value and utility of various services. Most significantly, however, it requires an examination of how all of these factors affect one another.

The identification of effective service delivery approaches will inevitably involve examining a variety of current service programs to determine which factors have contributed to their success or failure. It will involve the study of existing personal social services in different communities as they are used now by families as well as services provided at schools and in the market in order to understand who uses which services, with what consequences, and why. It will involve experimenting with alternative service delivery approaches in

different systems, including some forms of integrated service delivery to children and families. And it will involve the establishment of pilot programs and demonstrations to explore how effective modes of service delivery can be transported from one location to another or adapted to meet the needs of different populations.

CONCLUSION

Certainly, these five suggestions do not exhaust the full range of ideas for future research that surfaced during the meeting. They are, however, general directions for study that received broad consensus from a diverse group of participants. At the very least, they represent promising points of departure. Research is in many ways an orderly process of asking questions and answering them in a publicly verifiable manner. Priorities should be set, and the relevance of the research itself must be continually reexamined against these priorities as the level of understanding rises. These five suggestions offer a frame of reference for the National Institute of Education as it begins to develop a new grants program in the area of family and community studies and as it proceeds to redefine and refine ongoing activities in its other divisions. It also provides a beginning point for the new Panel on Work, Family and Community as it embarks upon an effort to bring the concerns of policy makers and the expertise of the research community to bear on issues associated with changing patterns of labor force participation and family structure and their implications for how families support the growth and development of children.

APPENDIX A

TRENDS IN THE LABOR FORCE PARTICIPATION OF WOMEN

June O'Neill

Like many other types of projections, those concerning the labor force participation of women more often than not have turned out to be wrong. The actual expansion of the female labor force has typically outpaced what any sensible forecaster would have thought possible. Of the various projections made by the Bureau of Labor Statistics (BLS) and the Bureau of the Census between 1959 and 1970, all underestimated the female labor force in 1970, or 1975 (Ryscavage 1979). The BLS projection made in 1976 that 50.4 percent of all women of working age (16 years old and older) would be in the labor force in 1985 was exceeded in 1979 when the rate hit 51.1 percent. In their most recent forecast the BLS has revised its methodology and now provides a wide range of estimates based on various possible paths.

Having absorbed the lessons of history, I will not present my own projections. Instead, I will focus on the changes that have occurred in women's work patterns during this century, on the underlying factors that appear to be related to these developments, and on the reasons why the future working patterns of women are so hard to predict.

PATTERNS AND DETERMINANTS OF GROWTH IN THE FEMALE LABOR FORCE

Briefly, the change in women's labor force participation over the century has taken the following course. In 1900 about 20 percent of women 14 years old and older were in the labor force. This percentage increased very little over the next few decades and stood at about 25 percent in 1940. Starting with World War II, however, there was an acceleration in the movement of women to paid work outside the home. By 1960, 38 percent were in the labor force; in 1979 the figure reached 51 percent.

Single women and women widowed, divorced, or separated have always had higher rates of labor force participation than married women. By 1950 these nonmarried groups had already reached levels of participation not far below those of today (see Table 1).

The big increases in the period since World War II have been due mainly to a dramatic shift in the work patterns of married women. In 1979, close to three-fifths of married women in the 20-to-44 age group were in the labor force--a rate about double that of 1950. Among married women with children under the age of 6, a group that in the past has had very low participation rates, the participation rate was 43 percent in 1979, compared with only 12 percent in 1950. It is still true that nonmarried women are more likely to work in the market

Table 1:
Labor Force Participation Rates of Women by Marital Status and Age,
Selected Years 1940-1979

(Percent[1])

Marital status and year	Total	Age						
		Under 20 years	20-24 years	25-34 years	35-44 years	45-54 years	55-64 years	65 years and older
Single, never married:								
1940.....	49.1	22.7	74.6	84.4	80.7	69.2[2/]	51.4[2/]	20.4
1950.....	50.4	26.3	74.9	84.6	83.6	77.1[2/]	62.3[2/]	23.8
1960.....	44.1	25.3	73.4	79.9	79.7	80.6	67.0	21.6
1970.....	53.0	39.5	71.1	80.7	73.3	72.3	63.7	17.6
1979.....	65.2	50.7	77.5	88.0	80.0	76.7	62.9	14.9
Married, husband present:								
1940.....	15.2	11.5	19.0	19.4	16.5	12.7	8.1[2/]	4.0
1950.....	23.8	24.0	28.5	23.8	28.5	26.2[2/]	14.9[2/]	6.4
1960.....	30.5	25.3	30.0	27.7	36.2	40.5	24.3	5.9
1970.....	40.8	36.0	47.4	39.3	47.2	49.5	35.8	7.9
1979.....	48.5	51.2	61.5	56.0	59.1	53.9	36.8	7.9
Widowed, divorced, or separated:								
1940.....	35.4	39.8	47.9	66.7	61.3	52.2	30.0[2/]	7.0
1950.....	37.6	42.6	45.5	62.3	65.4	62.9[2/]	40.1[2/]	8.8
1960.....	40.0	37.3	34.6	55.5	67.4	68.2	50.7	11.0
1970.....	39.1	46.5	39.7	65.1	67.9	69.1	54.6	9.9
1979.....	42.2	60.6	75.8	77.2	77.7	73.8	54.0	8.5

[1] Labor force as percent of population in group specified.

[2] Estimate based on participation of 45-64 year olds in 1950 Current Population Survey data and split between 45-54 and 55-64 in 1950 Census of Population data.

Note: Data prior to 1970 are for women 14 years and older; data for 1970 and 1979 are for women 16 years and older.

Source: Labor force participation rates: 1979, unpublished data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics, Department of Labor; 1950-1970, Employment and Training Report of the President (1978); 1940, Employment Status and Work Experience, PC (2) - 6A 1970 Census of Population (data in 1940 adjusted by ratio of participation rates in the 1950 Census of Population to participation rates in the March, 1950 Current Population Survey to make it comparable to 1950-1979 observations).

than married women, but there has been a substantial convergence in participation rates of the two groups.

EXPLANATIONS FOR THE RISE IN WOMEN'S EMPLOYMENT

The statistics just cited imply a significant change in the type of activities women pursue and in the way the production of income is divided among family members. The movement of married women into the labor force can be viewed as an occupational shift from unpaid work in the home, producing goods and services consumed by the famiy, to paid work in the market, yielding a money income that can be used to purchase a wider array of goods and services, including substitutes for home-produced goods. In explaining this shift, economists have stressed the importance of economic growth, which raised earnings and made market work the increasingly more profitable alternative. Moreover, the sectors of the economy that have expanded most rapidly include the white-collar occupations and service industries in which women have always been more heavily represented. Employment in the service sector increased by 77 percent from 1950 to 1970, compared with an increase of 26 percent in the goods-producing sector. Of course, the expansion in the service sector itself may have been in part a response to the increased supply of women in the labor market.

Another aspect of economic growth contributing to the shift to market work is technological advance in the home, which enabled a vast reduction in the amount of time needed to produce household services. Refrigerators and freezers reduce the number of trips to the market; supermarkets reduce the number of markets to be visited; washers and dryers and no-iron fabrics ease laundering; stoves clean themselves; refrigerators defrost themselves; and so on. Moreover, these devices have become available at ever lower cost: for example, the price of a hand-cranked washing machine was $150 in 1926 ($650 in 1979 prices); the price of a refrigerator was $900 in 1916-1917 ($4,000 in 1979 prices) (Oppenheimer 1970).

The rise in productivity in the home has meant that more household services can be obtained with the same number of hours of work in the home. But rather than consume ever increasing amounts of home produced output, families have shifted work time from home to market, thereby increasing money income and the goods and services that it buys. If productivity change were sufficiently rapid, home-produced output could also have increased, even though hours of work in the home were reduced. Since output in the home is less readily measured, this possibility is not easily verified. The pattern has been compared to the shift of employment away from agriculture during the first part of the century, when dramatic increases in farm productivity reduced the amount of labor needed to produce a given amount of output while higher earnings in the nonfarm sector and a rising demand for nonagricultural products (and therefore nonagricultural workers) provided a stimulus for the move.

I have not yet mentioned children, and certainly the care of children is one household job for which market substitutes are less readily available. The increase in women's labor force participation has been associated with a decline in fertility, although it is difficult to separate cause and effect. Indeed many of the factors related to women's participation appear to be simultaneously determined. For example, the decisions to marry later, to have fewer children, to obtain more schooling, and to participate in the labor force may well be jointly determined.

Other social factors have been cited as affecting women's work patterns. Increased divorce rates may make it more risky for married women to specialize exclusively in homemaking without developing market skills, should the need for self-support arise. Increased market work experience and higher earnings, however, may well make it easier to divorce. The liberalization of attitudes about women's employment outside the home is another factor credited with contributing to the rapid increase in women's rising labor force participation. Public opinion surveys taken through the years document the small proportion of the public in the past who approved of married women's working outside the home (less than 25 percent approved during the 1930s) and the rise in approval over time (Oppenheimer 1970). Of course, opinions themselves may simply reflect the changed behavior stemming from changed economic conditions. Indeed, attitudes toward women working during the 1930s were undoubtedly affected by the depression, while the jump in approval found in the polls of the 1940s may well reflect the tightening wartime labor markets. Nonetheless, the attitudes of the majority can have signficiant effects on those who do not share their views, since the views of the majority may lead to restrictve laws or other institutions, such as those barring women from employment. For example, in 1928, 51 percent of America school systems required that single women resign from their jobs if they married (61 percent during the 1930s) (Oppenheimer 1970). Thus, changes in attitudes can be important in accelerating the spread of a movement even if the movement is first caused by strictly economic factors.

NEGATIVE EFFECTS OF INCOME ON WORK

I have stressed the positive role played by rising earnings in providing a monetary incentive for women to increase hours of work. Rising earnings, however, may at the same time set in motion forces discouraging work, since individuals are likely to want more leisure time as they become more affluent. There are then two influences with opposite effects that accompany rising wage rates--one, an income effect inducing a reduction in work; the other, an incentive (or substitution) effect, responding to the rising price of leisure, and inducing an increase in work.

For men, the net outcome of these two opposing effects has been an increase in leisure time. The average workweek has declined (particularly during the first three decades of the century) and vacation time during the year has increased. From a lifetime perspective, earlier retirements have significantly reduced the number of years worked--a development of the social security era.

For women, the trend has been toward increasing work in the market as income levels rise. This does not necessarily mean, however, that women have been reducing their leisure time, since for women the increased hours of market work reflect a shift away from another type of work--work in the home. Thus, women's total work time spent in all activities may well have fallen, and leisure time increased. Some evidence from time use studies does in fact indicate an 8-percent increase in nonwork time for married women between 1965 and 1975, while hours spent in family care fell by 16 percent.[1]

Another aspect of this issue is the effect of increases in husbands' incomes on wives' division of time between home and market work and leisure. Available data indicate a negative association between a husband's income and his wife's labor force participation.

For example, in 1977 the labor force participation rate of married women with children under 18 fell from 57 percent, when husbands had annual incomes in the $7,000-$10,000 range, to 24 percent, when husbands' annual incomes were in the $50,000 and over category. These rates refer to wives who were high school graduates; for married women who were college graduates, the decline is even steeper. One possible explanation for this specialization in nonmarket activities is that at higher incomes more children and/or "higher quality" children are desired and this is complementary to increased parental time devoted to child care. Home management functions may also be more complex at higher income levels, where homes are larger and family expenditures more elaborate. Moreover, the current income tax system imposes very high marginal tax rates on the incomes of wives of men with high earnings, thereby discouraging paid market work.[2]

Statistical analyses of the effects of wives' earnings and husbands' incomes on the labor force participation of married women have found the effect of wives' own earnings to be the stronger factor pulling women into the market (e.g., Mincer 1962, Cain 1966). Over time the potentially negative effect of rising husbands' incomes on wives' labor force participation has been offset by the incentive effect of rising earnings of women, drawing women from unpaid work in the home to paid work in the market.

CHANGES IN COHORT PATTERNS OVER TIME

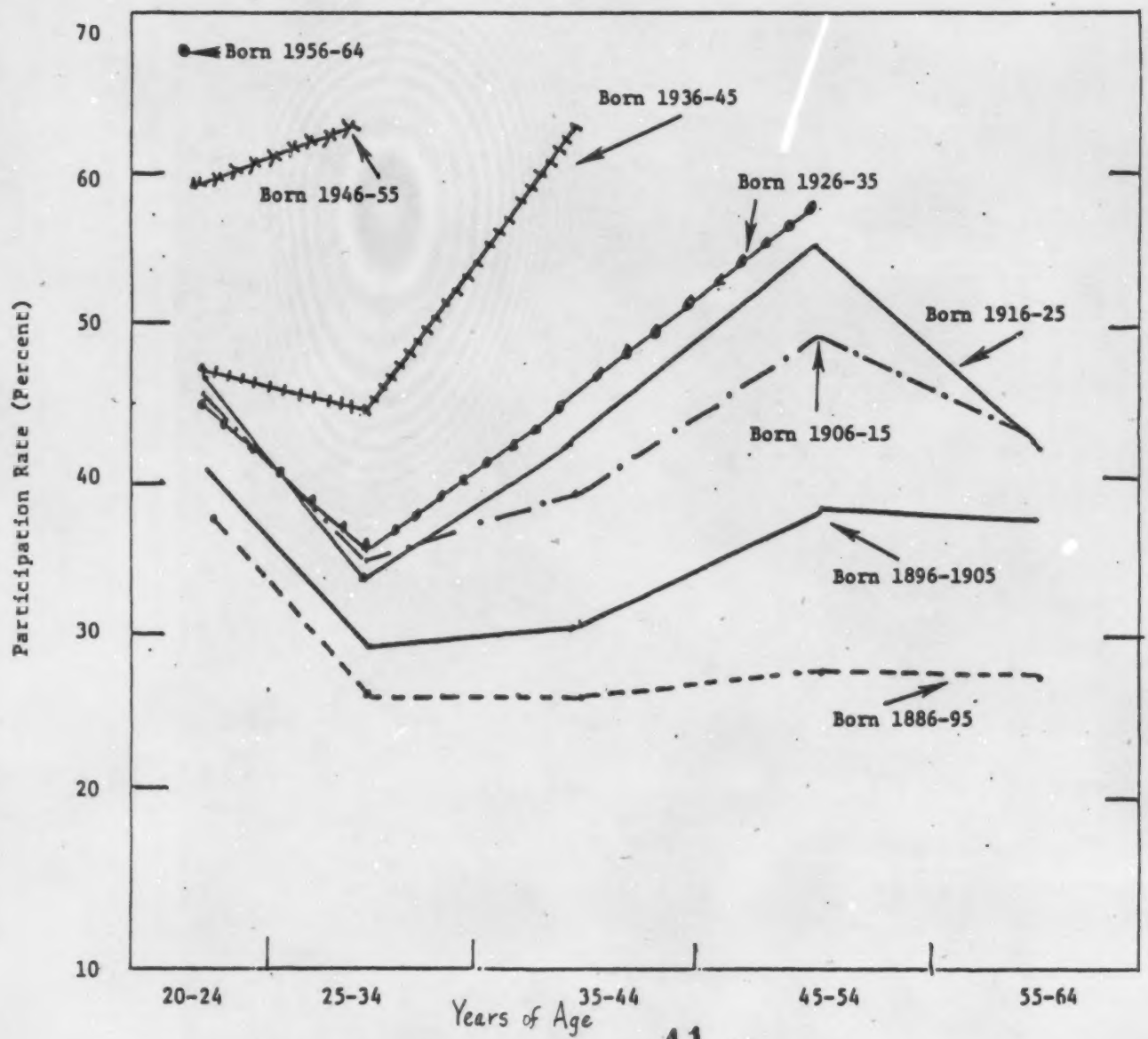
For purposes of analysis it is useful to look at the behavior of cohorts of women as they age and to compare the lifetime experience of cohorts born in different time periods. Chart I depicts these lifetime changes in labor force participation for 8 cohorts of women born 10 years apart, starting with the group born in the period 1886-1895.[3]

In general, the chart vividly shows the rising levels of labor force participation for each successive cohort of women. It is striking that each cohort has gone beyond the one preceding it in terms of labor market work, despite wide swings in the economy, in the timing of marriages, and in fertility. Economic and demographic changes, however, are clearly reflected in the pattern and degree of change in each cohort's labor market experiences.

The difficulty in the past of combining marriage and children with market work is evident in the pattern of the earliest cohort shown (born 1886-1895), which reached its highest level of labor force participation at ages 20-24, before many had married. Fertility was high for this cohort (an average of 3.3 children ever born), and the depression of the 1930s is likely to have further limited the opportunities of those who might have desired to enter the market when their children were older. The next two cohorts bore fewer children and maintained successively higher levels of labor force participation during their child-bearing years. Their middle years, when their children were grown, coincided with the rapid growth of the period after World War II, and additional members of the cohort responded by entering or reentering the labor force.

The two cohorts following (those born 1916-1925 and 1926-35) include the women who bore the baby boom generation. Although the labor force participation of these women did not decline to the low levels reached earlier in the century, their rate of increase from preceding cohorts slowed markedly. In fact, the labor force participation rates for the two cohorts born 1916-1925 and 1926-1935

Chart I
Labor Force Participation over a Working Life
of Cohorts of Women Born in Selected Time Intervals,
1886-1965



only rise above those of the cohort born 1906-1915 after age 35, the period when children are older. In a related development, progress in schooling attainment also slowed for these groups. Although prior to World War II the percentage of women completing college had begun to catch up to that of men, it increased very slowly after the war. Men, on the other hand, rapidly accelerated their rates of college attendance with the help of the G.I. Bill, and the gap in college completion between men and women grew.

The three most recent cohorts appear to have made both striking increases in the level of their labor force participation and marked changes in lifetime patterns. Despite high fertility, the cohort born 1936-1945 did not withdraw as much from the labor force during their child-rearing years and has moved into the labor force in record numbers during their thirties and forties. To date, the cohort born 1946-1955 has broken with the past more than any preceding cohort. Their labor force participation has not taken the characteristic dip between ages 20-24 and 25-34, but has actually increased. These high levels of labor force participation have been achieved by women who acquired considerable education (close to 20 percent graduated from college) and delayed marriage and child-bearing. Their fertility has been sharply lower than that of prior cohorts. Moreover, those who do have young children have been more likely to work outside the home than ever before.

Unlike other periods of rapid growth in the female labor force, the 1970s were years of slow growth in earnings, particularly since 1972. Women's labor force behavior is puzzling in light of the frequent finding that rising earnings are a major determination of women's labor force participation. One possible explanation is that women's earnings may be rising more rapidly than the average. Women's earnings are, however, difficult to measure because they are influenced by changes in women's labor force behavior. A growing percentage of female labor force entrants without any labor market experience could lower the observed average wage of all women, even if the wages of women with a given level of experience were rising. Data on earnings classified by experience are not available on a regular basis. Some recent data, classifying earnings of men and women by education and age but not by experience, do suggest that earnings of younger women have been increasing faster than those of men (see Table 2). Thus, between 1967 and 1977 the ratio of women's earnings to men's at ages 25-34 increased from 67 percent to 71 percent for college graduates; from 61 percent to 65 percent for high school graduates; and from 57 percent to 67 percent for those with 9-11 years of schooling. At older ages the female-male differential did not change. This could be due, however, to the large influx into the labor force of older women without much experience who pulled down the average, although wages for more experienced women may have increased rapidly. Better data classified by experience are needed to see the true change.

Another possible explanation for the sharp growth in women's labor force participation during the 1970s stresses that men's real earnings have grown slowly. Slow growth in men's earnings may have had negative effects on marriage and fertility, and married women may have responded to the slow growth in husbands' real incomes by working more outside the home. Although statistical analysis has not shown the income effect to be so strong in the past, it is possible that the relationship has changed. It is also possible that societal attitudes that influence the roles of women and men have changed and are shaping the responses of the more recent cohorts.

Table 2: Median Income for Year-Round Full-Time Workers, by Sex, Age and Years of School Completed, 1967 and 1977

Years of Survey and Age	Median income by years of school completed (1977 dollars) 1/						Women's median income as a percent of men's		
	9-11 years		12 years		16 years or more		9-11 years	12 years	16 years or more
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women			
1967									
25-34	11,433	6,478	13,155	7,999	17,059	11,342	56.7	60.8	66.5
35-44	12,701	6,614	14,749	8,126	22,893	12,632	52.1	55.1	55.2
45-54	13,315	6,951	14,927	8,371	24,107	13,017	52.2	56.1	54.0
55-64	12,690	7,057	13,687	8,178	22,929	12,946	55.6	59.8	56.5
1977									
18-24	7,715	6,140	9,543	6,951	10,909	9,633	79.6	72.8	88.3
25-34	11,018	7,399	13,484	8,767	16,041	11,318	67.2	65.0	70.6
35-44	13,549	7,067	16,079	8,880	22,827	14,237	52.2	55.2	62.4
45-54	14,287	7,552	16,593	9,097	25,911	14,067	52.9	54.8	54.3
55-64	13,605	7,553	15,961	8,855	25,637	14,205	55.5	55.5	55.4

1/ Income in 1967 is expressed in 1977 dollars by adjusting 1967 levels according to changes in the Consumer Price Index.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Income in 1967 of Persons in the United States (P-60, No. 60) and Money Income in 1977 of Families and Persons in the United States (P-60, No. 118)

FUTURE GROWTH: WHY PROJECTIONS ARE SO HARD TO MAKE

Most projections of labor force growth are constructed by extrapolating past trends into the future.[4] The problem with purely statistical trend projections is that rates of change are seldom uniform from period to period.

The difficulty is evident in Chart I. For example, a projection of the labor force participation of women aged 45-54 based on changes in the rates for that age group since 1950 would likely reflect the slowdown in the rate of increase for that group between 1950 and 1979 and forecast only a modest increase. Yet the group who will be 45-54 in 1990 is 35-44 in 1980 and (based on actual rates for 1979) already has achieved a substantially higher participation rate at ages 35-44 than a linear trend is likely to project for 1990. Moreover, the pattern has been, almost without exception, for a cohort's participation to rise substantially between ages 35-44 and 45-54.

The labor force participation of women is influenced by many economic and social forces. Not only are these forces likely to change, but also women's responses to these forces may change. Ideally, projections would be based on a model that accounted for relationships between changes in women's labor force participation and changes in the economic and social determinants of participation. Such a model, however, is not easy to construct. Several studies have used simple equations to relate the labor force participation of married women to the income or earnings of married women and of married men (Cain 1966, Mincer 1962). As I noted earlier, women's own earnings have been found to be a dominant explanatory variable. It has been suggested that this one factor explains as much as three-fourths of the increase in women's labor force participation for particular periods in the past. As a predictor of year-to-year changes in labor force participation, however, changes in earnings have been less satisfactory. In addition, the models have been shown to be unstable when applied to different data sets.

The basic reason why models explaining women's labor force participation are difficult to construct is that many of the variables that are determinants of labor force participation are themselves affected by labor force participation. Earnings provide the incentive to work outside the home, but earnings are themselves affected by labor force participation. Moreover, as I have suggested earlier, labor force participation and marital, fertility, and schooling decisions are truly simultaneous decisions, each the determinant of the others. Studies using more sophisticated simultaneous equation models have attempted to overcome these conceptual and statistical problems (e.g., Cain and Dooley 1976). The results are still not systematic, but this is an area that is developing. Of course, even if a model were constructed that could explain all past changes in labor force participation with great accuracy, we would still be left with foretelling the future course of the economic and social factors that are the determinants specified in the model; and both economic and social forecasts are extremely difficult to produce.

The key issue for the future is what will happen if and when economic growth returns to the high rates of increase of the past. There are at least two schools of thought with opposite implications. One view is that young adults in an environment of rising real incomes are likely to marry early, produce more children, and lean toward the more traditional division of responsibilities in the household--an echo of the baby boom era (Easterlin 1978). The other view is that rising earnings of women will simply raise the opportunity cost of

having children, which will tend to encourage more attachment to the labor force and a continuation of current lower fertility patterns (Butz and Ward 1977, Ward and Butz 1978). There is no solid basis, either theoretical or empirical, to prefer one scenario over the other at this time. It does seem reasonable to me, however, in light of the developments of this century, to expect that the labor force participation of women will continue to rise. It is the degree of the change that is in question.

NOTES

1 These statistics were calculated from data presented in Robinson (1977) and are based on a time use study by the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan.

2 It has also been suggested that the data relating income class of husband with wife's labor force participation exaggerates the longer-term effect of husband's income because income class at a moment in time is likely to have a transitory component (Mincer 1966). For example, low income of husband could be related to short-term unemployment that results in short-term employment of the wife.

3 The chart traces the work history of cohorts of women by following cohorts through successive years of Census data. For example, the cohort born in 1886-1895 reached ages 25-34 years in 1920 and the labor force participation rate plotted is that based on the rate for women at ages 25-34 derived from the 1920 Census. The rate at ages 35-44 for this same cohort is that for women aged 35-44 in the 1930 Census, and so on. The data used are from Easterlin (1978, Appendix Table 3) and data from the Bureau of Labor Statistics.

4 A critique of the methods used by the Bureau of Labor Statistics for projecting women's labor force participation and an extensive discussion of alternative methods is given in Smith (1979).

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APPENDIX B

DEMOGRAPHIC SHIFTS: CHANGES IN FAMILY STRUCTURE

Paul C. Glick

Changes in the population profile of the United States over the last 50 years have been very dramatic and have caused unprecedented changes in the structure of American families. The economic depression of the 1930s, World War II in the 1940s, the baby boom of the 1950s, the Vietnam conflict of the 1960s, and the recession of the mid-1970s have contributed in various ways to the changing dynamics of the U.S. population. We need only to be reminded of the shift from low birth rates in the 1930s to high birth rates in the 1950s and then to low birth rates in the 1970s to be made fully aware of the convulsive pattern of recent population change in this country. An almost endless number of demographic, social, and economic side effects of these volatile changes have been witnessed and will continue to be factors contributing to a mixture of well-being and ill-being for the American population for some time to come.

The ups and downs in the birth rate have significantly affected the available pool of young men and young women in the age range in which most persons marry. During the mid-1960s there were about 10 percent more young women within the most marriageable age range (18-24) than there were men within the most marriageable range (20-26). This situation was a result of the rise in the birth rate during the late 1940s and early 1950s and the tendency for women to be ready for marriage two to three years before men. Women born in 1947, when the birth rate was already relatively high, were more numerous in the 1960s at their marriage time than men born in 1944, when the birth rate was relatively low. Between now and the mid-1980s, the situation will become reversed as a consequence of the declining birth rate since about 1960. At that time there will be close to a 5-percent excess of young men of the main ages for marriage. This phenomenon, sometimes called the "marriage squeeze," operates in one direction as a consequence of rising birth rates and in the opposite direction as a consequence of declining birth rates.

The ramifications of this changing sex ratio among men and women of the most marriageable ages are numerous and more significant than a change of 5 or 10 percent would lead one to expect, but, of course, there have been many other simultaneous changes in the social and economic order taking place. The changing sex ratio is a central contributing factor that has helped to set other demographic shifts into motion. For example, the relative scarcity of young men of marriageable age in the mid-1960s was made more serious by the simultaneous Vietnam conflict, which took more men out of the marriage market. But if that conflict had occurred in the mid-1980s when there should be a relative excess of men of marriageable age, the impact on marriage prospects would have been much less extensive.

The declining birth rates during the 1960s and the low birth rates during the 1970s have occurred in the context of several interacting developments. Besides the marriage squeeze and the Vietnam conflict, there has been steady decline in the first marriage rate; a sharp increase in separation and divorce; rising college enrollment, especially among women; and continuing increases in the employment of women. Thus, more and more women in the 1960s who might have otherwise married and had three children, like those who married in the 1950s, have chosen instead to postpone marriage and remain in their parental home longer, get a high school diploma or a college degree, and to obtain employment in an expanding job market. Meanwhile, an increasing number of young unmarried women have become mothers--16 percent of births in 1977 occurred outside marriage, compared with 5 percent in 1960.

The entire decline in the birth rate during the 1960s and 1970s occurred among married women. As the size of family declined and as an increasing proportion of married women became employed, the incomes of married women went up more rapidly than the incomes of their husbands. Consequently, more married women felt sufficiently independent economically and relatively unencumbered by young children, and more divorces occurred. Evidently, most couples who chose the option of obtaining a divorce generally believed that the crisis period they were about to go through was worthwhile, because of the (at least) temporary relief from problems with their marriage, or because they anticipated remarriage to someone else who would be a more satisfying marital partner, or because they favored a permanent state of singleness.

Women who postpone marriage or child-bearing are increasingly likely to remain unmarried and childless, despite the rising rate of births outside marriage. The first marriage rate and the remarriage rate through 1977 have been declining age by age. Only during the last year and a half has the marriage rate per 1,000 population shown a mild rise; it is still well below the peak that was reached in 1972. In 1979, 49 percent of the women aged 20-24 had never married; this is a striking three-fourths increase since 1960, when the corresponding figure was only 28 percent. The first birth and second birth rates for women in their early thirties have been showing only a slight rise (between 1975 and 1977), but the birth rate for these women is still below the rate for five years earlier. Among women in their early twenties, 11 percent say they expect to have no children, compared with only 7 percent for women in their early thirties. Recent studies show that one-fourth of the wives of reproductive age and/or their husbands have become sterilized after thay have had all the children they want. These couples cannot contribute to another baby boom by changing their minds about their preferred family size.

Today's young women expect to have only two children, compared with four children three generations earlier. Evidently young women believe they and their husbands can gain sufficient satisfaction from watching a small number of children develop and from educating them and launching them into young adulthood. Moreover, parents of smaller families should find it easier to spend more time with each child--and with their spouse. And the increasing age at marriage plus the declining age at having the last child has cut three years off the child-bearing period during the last three generations. During the same period there has been a substantial increase in survival rates until after middle age. Consequently, the average couple can now anticipate living together for 13 more years after their children leave home than did their great grandparents. Whether this is a

satisfying period of their lives depends on how well they enjoy their lives as "mature" husbands and wives rather than as parents of growing children.

The declining birth rate during the 1960s contributed to the setting for an increase in divorce by changing the age composition of children in families with children. Between 1960 and 1978 the proportion of children under 18 who were of preschool age declined from 38 percent to 29 percent. This shift meant that more of the young children during the 1970s have been of school age and therefore of an age at which they require less careful supervision as well as are old enough to help with chores in the home. This circumstance is making it easier for unhappy couples to cope after obtaining a divorce. If, however, the birth rate remains at its current low level--which, if continued indefinitely, would yield 1.8 children per woman--the proportion of children under 18 of preschool age will increase again, and that development should operate as a deterrent to divorce.

The one-parent family was not a topic of discussion back in 1960, when only 9 percent of the children under 18 lived with one parent; then as now, close to nine times out of ten those children were living with their mother. But by 1978, after years of rising rates of separation, divorce, and births outside marriage, twice as large a proportion--19 percent--of the children under 18 lived with a single parent. More than half of the change occurred during the 1970s. Even if the rate of increase in one-parent families should moderate, an estimated one-fourth of all children under 18 will be living with one parent by the year 1990.

Of special relevance to persons interested in the school population is the current extent to which children of school age live with one parent or with two parents. As Table 1 shows, the school-age population has declined by 9 percent during the decade between 1969 and 1979. The decline has been even greater among those living with two parents--17 percent. On the other hand, the number living with only their mother became much larger--up 40 percent during the decade. The number living with only their father increased considerably less--up to 25 percent. Altogether the number living with one parent went up by 39 percent between 1969 and 1979, and by 1979 amounted to 8.6 million children old enough to attend elementary school or high school. (See Table 3 for information about children under six.)

If a U.S. teacher today were to line up a typical set of children of school age, the teacher would find that every fifth one was living with only one parent (19.7 percent). Practically the same proportion applies to children of elementary school age and to those of hign school age (19.3 percent and 20.3 percent, respectively).

A decade earlier, in 1969, one school child in eight lived with only one parent (12.9 percent). At that time, when the divorce rate was lower, more of these children were of elementary school age. As evidence, the number of children of elementary school age living with one parent increased between 1969 and 1979 by "only" 28 percent, while those of high school age living with one parent increased twice as rapidly--by 63 percent.

But these increases were not evenly distributed between those living with only their mother and those living with only their father. As could be expected, the number of children of elementary school age living with their mother increased between 1969 and 1979 far more rapidly than the number of this age living with their father (30-percent versus 14-percent increase). Either fathers are much less likely to receive custody of elementary school age children after

Table 1. Living Arrangements of Children of School Age in the United States: 1979 and 1969

(Numbers in thousands)

Living arrangements and age	1979		1969		Change, 1969 to 1979	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All children 6 to 17	43,805	100.0	48,323	100.0	-4,518	-9.3
Living with:						
2 parents	33,625	76.8	40,564	83.9	-6,939	-17.1
1 parent	8,610	19.7	6,210	12.9	2,400	38.6
Mother only	7,807	17.8	5,566	11.5	2,241	40.3
Father only	803	1.8	644	1.3	159	24.7
Neither parent	1,569	3.6	1,550	3.2	19	1.2
All children 6 to 13	27,764	100.0	33,234	100.0	-5,470	-16.5
Living with:						
2 parents	21,504	77.5	28,175	84.8	-6,671	-23.7
1 parent	5,336	19.2	4,163	12.5	1,173	28.2
Mother only	4,905	17.7	3,785	11.4	1,120	29.6
Father only	431	1.6	378	1.1	53	14.0
Neither parent	923	3.3	896	2.7	27	3.0
All children 14 to 17	16,041	100.0	15,089	100.0	952	6.3
Living with:						
2 parents	12,121	75.6	12,389	82.1	-268	-2.2
1 parent	3,274	20.4	2,047	13.6	1,227	59.9
Mother only	2,902	18.1	1,781	11.8	1,121	62.9
Father only	372	2.3	266	1.8	106	39.8
Neither parent	646	4.0	654	4.3	-8	-1.2

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 349, "Marital Status and Living Arrangements: March 1979," table 4; and Series P-20, No. 198, "Marital Status and Family Status: March 1969," table 4.

separation or divorce, or those who do receive such custody are more likely to remarry sooner than mothers who receive such custody, or both. Thus, the pattern persists that children living with their father and not their mother are much more likely to be older, on the average, than those living with their mother and not their father, and the difference is increasing.

If a U.S. teacher today has a typical set of black children of school age, the teacher would find that every other one of those children was living with only one parent; 46 percent would be living with one parent, 44 percent with two parents, and 9 percent with neither parent but usually with some other relative or relatives (see Table 2). Again, the same proportion applies to black children of elementary school age and to those of high school age (46 percent and 47 percent, respectively). About 2 percent of the black children are currently living with only their father; this is the same figure as that for all children; therefore, the black children differ from other children in this context by having more than twice as large a proportion living with only their mother (44 percent versus 18 percent). In other words, about 19 of every 20 black children living with one parent live with their mother, whereas 9 of every 10 other children living with one parent live with their mother. (See Table 4 for information about children under six.)

Corresponding information for children of Spanish origin indicates that currently about one-fourth of the Spanish-origin children of school age live with only one parent. Again, about 2 percent of the Spanish-origin children live with only their father, 23 percent live with only their mother, and nearly all of the remainder live with two parents.

The foregoing discussion relates to children at one point in time. If it had been dealing with lifetime experiences in living with only one parent, the proportions would be even larger. Children move in and out of this living arrangement. Thus, although 20 percent of the children currently of school age are living with one parent, close to one-half of the children born this year can be expected to live in a one-parent household at some time before they reach the age of 18.

One should not lose sight of the vast majority of children who at any point in time live with two parents. More than three of every four (77 percent) of the children of school age are currently living with a father and a mother. But estimates do show that close to 1 of every 8 of those living with two parents are living with one natural parent and one stepparent, usually after the remarriage of their mother. Stated otherwise, about 10 percent of all children of school age live with a parent and a stepparent and to these may be added the 20 percent pointed out above as living with only one parent, usually a divorced or separated parent. In this context, the proportion of children today whose parents have been at some time involved in single parenting approaches close to 1 in 3.

These remarks are intended to provide a factual perspective on the living arrangements of children of school age in the context of some of the factors that have produced recent substantial changes in the home environment in which they live.

Table 2. Living Arrangements of Black Children of School Age in the United States: 1979 and 1969

Living arrangements and age	1979		1969		Change, 1969 to 1979	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Black children 6 to 17	6,439	100.0	6,443	100.0	-4	-0.1
Living with:						
2 parents	2,846	44.2	3,740	58.0	-894	-23.9
1 parent	2,986	46.4	2,127	33.0	859	40.4
Mother only	2,843	44.2	1,978	30.7	865	43.7
Father only	143	2.2	149	2.3	-6	-4.0
Neither parent	606	9.4	578	9.0	28	4.8
Black children 6 to 13	4,145	100.0	4,517	100.0	-372	-8.2
Living with:						
2 parents	1,825	44.0	2,655	58.8	-830	-31.3
1 parent	1,918	46.3	1,484	32.9	434	29.2
Mother only	1,832	44.2	1,395	30.9	437	31.3
Father only	86	2.1	89	2.0	-3	-3.4
Neither parent	402	9.7	379	8.4	23	6.1
Black children 14 to 17	2,294	100.0	1,926	100.0	368	19.1
Living with:						
2 parents	1,021	44.5	1,085	56.3	-64	-5.9
1 parent	1,068	46.6	643	33.4	425	66.1
Mother only	1,011	44.1	583	30.3	428	73.4
Father only	57	2.5	60	3.1	-3	-5.0
Neither parent	204	8.9	199	10.3	5	2.5

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 349, "Marital Status and Living Arrangements: March 1979," table 4; and Series P-20, No. 198, "Marital Status and Family Status: March 1969," table 4.

Table 3. Living Arrangements and Age of Children Under 18 Years Old in the United States: 1979 and 1970

(Numbers in thousands)

Living arrangements and age	1979		1970		Change, 1970 to 1979	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
All children under 18	62,389	100.0	69,458	100.0	-7,069	-10.2
Living with:						
2 parents	48,295	77.4	58,939	84.9	-10,644	-18.1
1 parent	11,528	18.5	8,199	11.8	3,329	40.6
Mother only	10,531	16.9	7,452	10.7	3,079	41.3
Father only	997	1.6	747	1.1	250	33.5
Neither parent	2,565	4.1	2,320	3.3	245	10.6
All children under 6	18,584	100.0	20,997	100.0	-2,413	-11.5
Living with:						
2 parents	14,669	78.9	18,212	86.7	-3,543	19.5
1 parent	2,918	15.7	2,116	10.1	802	37.9
Mother only	2,724	14.7	1,998	9.5	726	36.3
Father only	194	1.0	118	0.6	76	64.4
Neither parent	997	5.4	669	3.2	328	49.0
All children 3 to 5	9,091	100.0	10,863	100.0	-1,772	-16.3
Living with:						
2 parents	7,105	78.2	9,394	86.5	-2,289	-24.4
1 parent	1,586	17.4	1,162	10.7	424	36.5
Mother only	1,496	16.5	1,090	10.0	406	37.2
Father only	90	1.0	72	0.7	18	(B)
Neither parent	400	4.4	307	2.8	93	30.3
All children under 3	9,493	100.0	10,134	100.0	-641	-6.3
Living with:						
2 parents	7,564	79.7	8,818	87.0	-1,254	-14.2
1 parent	1,332	14.0	954	9.4	378	39.6
Mother only	1,228	12.9	908	9.0	320	35.2
Father only	104	1.1	46	0.5	58	(B)
Neither parent	597	6.3	362	3.6	235	64.9

B= Base less than 75,000.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 349, "Marital Status and Living Arrangements: March 1979," table 4; and Series P-20, No. 198, "Marital Status and Family Status: March 1969," table 4.

Table 4. Living Arrangements and Age of Black Children Under 18 Years Old in the United States: 1979 and 1970

(Numbers in thousands)

Living arrangements and age	1979		1970		Change, 1970 to 1979	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Black children under 18	9,285	100.0	9,483	100.0	-198	-2.1
Living with:						
2 parents	4,030	43.4	5,508	58.1	-1,478	-26.8
1 parent	4,089	44.0	2,996	31.6	1,093	36.5
Mother only	3,891	41.9	2,783	29.3	1,108	39.8
Father only	198	2.1	213	2.2	-15	-7.0
Neither parent	1,165	12.5	978	10.3	187	19.1
Black children under 6	2,846	100.0	2,969	100.0	-123	-4.1
Living with:						
2 parents	1,183	41.6	1,776	59.8	-593	-33.4
1 parent	1,103	38.8	829	27.9	274	33.1
Mother only	1,048	36.8	787	26.5	261	33.2
Father only	55	1.9	42	1.4	13	(B)
Neither parent	559	19.6	364	12.3	195	53.6
Black children 3 to 5	1,412	100.0	1,551	100.0	-139	-9.0
Living with:						
2 parents	598	42.4	950	61.3	-352	-37.1
1 parent	589	41.7	459	29.6	130	28.3
Mother only	569	40.3	443	28.6	126	28.4
Father only	20	1.4	16	1.0	4	(B)
Neither parent	225	15.9	142	9.2	83	58.5
Black children under 3	1,434	100.0	1,418	100.0	16	1.1
Living with:						
2 parents	585	40.8	826	58.3	-241	-29.2
1 parent	514	35.8	370	26.1	144	38.9
Mother only	479	33.4	344	24.3	135	39.2
Father only	35	2.4	26	1.8	9	(B)
Neither parent	334	23.3	222	15.7	112	50.5

B= Base less than 75,000.

Source: U.S. Bureau of the Census, Current Population Reports, Series P-20, No. 349, "Marital Status and Living Arrangements: March 1979," table 4; and Series P-20, No. 198, "Marital Status and Family Status: March 1949," table 4.

APPENDIX C

EFFECTS OF MATERNAL EMPLOYMENT ON CHILDREN

Lois W. Hoffman

There is by now no need to impress you with the rapid increase in maternal employment rates. I have prepared two tables (presented at the end of this paper) that I think make the point so it will suffice simply to say that more mothers now work than do not work, and perhaps to add that even the group whose employment rates have been the lowest--married mothers of children under three--now have over one-third employment. Despite Paul Glick's prediction, I think there is every reason to believe this trend will continue.

This is a very important social change. In considering its effects on the child, however, it is important to keep in mind the other interrelated changes, many of which have been discussed at this meeting. Not only is maternal employment in part a response to these changes, but also these changes mediate the effects of employment on the child. You can't just think of the one change as though everything else had remained constant.

For example, household operations have become much more efficient, as suggested by June O'Neill, and family size in America has diminished. In view of these changes, we cannot be certain that the individual child in today's working-mother family actually receives less attention than the child in yesterday's nonworking-mother family. It is possible that employment, at least when children are school-aged, simply fills in the time previously consumed by greater household burdens and additional children. Furthermore, it cannot be assumed that a child benefits from the time released by streamlined household operations and smaller families if its mother is not working. Mothering does not have an infinitely positive relationship to a child's mental health. The longitudinal work by Terrance Moore begun in England in the 1950s suggests that full-time mothering had its vulnerabilities even then. Boys who receive full-time mothering during their preschool years were as adolescents better in school, but also more conforming, fearful, and inhibited. Birnbaum's work covering the same period suggests that the educated nonworking mother may overinvest in her children, bringing an excess of worry and inadequate encouragement of independence. It seems even more likely that the nonworking mother today may provide more mothering than a child can profitably handle.

These same changes--the decrease in required homemaking time and in the number of children in a family--also make employment more psychologically important for the mother. When there are no longer preschool children, the full-time homemaker role may seem to the woman an insufficient contribution and an inadequate use of her ability, particularly when she knows that she could use her time to earn money for the family. Even unskilled employment can provide social

stimulation and a feeling of competence. In addition, the recent upswing in women's educational levels may enable them to obtain more satisfying employment and increase their motivation. The current instability of marriage and the awareness that there will be many healthy years ahead after the children are grown may increase the need to establish occupational competence. Thus it is not surprising that a number of recent studies have indicated that the working mother is more satisfied with her life than the nonworking mother, and so is her husband. And both the older and the more recent studies show that a mother's role satisfaction increases her effectiveness as a parent.

Another social change that must be considered in examining the effects of maternal employment today is, oddly enough, maternal employment itself--or, more accurately, the increased importance of work in the lives of women. This social change may require that we reexamine the prevailing child-rearing goals. In a previous publication I have suggested that the socialization experiences of boys and girls have reflected the expectation that girls will spend most of their adult lives as mothers while boys will be breadwinners. However, because of smaller family size, longer life expectancy, and higher employment rates for women, motherhood has in fact come to occupy less of a woman's adult life, and work has come to occupy more. While occupational pursuits may still fill most of a boy's adult life, his breadwinner role may be shared with his wife and he may be more active in child-rearing than his father. Thus, the adult roles today's children will fill are different from what they were in the past. The working-mother family might be better suited than the traditional family for preparing children to fill the new adult roles.

In considering the effects of maternal employment on the child perhaps the period about which it is most difficult to be sanguine is infancy. While the importance of attachment for a child's emotional development has long been realized, more recent data have suggested that reciprocal interaction, verbal stimulation, visual experience, and reward contingencies are also essential in infancy for cognitive development. But does that mean an infant needs a mother's full-time presence in the home? The early Bowlby and Spitz data so often cited in defense of this view were obtained from studies of extremely barren, understaffed institutions, and later research suggests that the drastic effects they observed might be cut down by increasing the staff-child ratio, providing more attentive nurses and arranging a more stimulating physical environment.

Working mothers do not put their babies in institutions. In fact, most preschool children of working mothers are cared for in their own homes rather than in group day care. Furthermore, studies have thus far not demonstrated adverse effects of quality day care.

There is evidence, even among home-reared infants, that the amount of expressive and vocal stimulation and response an infant receives, the amount of reciprocal interaction, does affect development. But there is no evidence that the caretaker has to be the mother or that this role is better filled by a male or female. Attachment has been shown to occur between the infant and other adults, and multiple attachments need not interfere with a primary attachment to the mother. There is not even compelling evidence that the working mother spends less time in direct interaction with the infant than the nonworking mother. There are two relevant studies--both time-diary studies. One, a study of children in preschools, found no difference between working and nonworking mothers in the amount of one-to-one mother-child contact, though working mothers had less "indirect" time (when the mother was in the house but only occasionally interacting).

The other study just looked at "child care" time in a very broad and undifferentiated sense, but had a large, heterogeneous sample. In this study, working mothers of preschoolers did put in fewer child care hours (broadly defined), but this difference was considerably less for college-educated women. The working mothers cut down mainly on sleep and passive leisure.

Until recently there were no studies of working mothers of infants, probably because the pattern was rare and occurred only under special circumstances. Two recent studies looked at the quality of mother-child interaction during the first year and found no difference between the working and nonworking mothers, nor in the child's development level. This work is currently being replicated and expanded in a study at Michigan.

Recent research in Canada by Gold and her colleagues compared four-year-olds whose mothers had worked since the children's births with four-year-olds whose mothers had not worked. In two samples, both of middle-class children (one English-speaking and one French-speaking), the children of working mothers showed better adjustment. The only negative finding, and one that I will talk about later since it occurs in studies of older children as well, was that the sons of working mothers, in the English-speaking sample only, had lower IQs.

There is one additional piece of recent work on preschool children that is relevant here. Hetherington, in studying the effects of divorce on four-year-olds, found that adverse effects were diminished if the mother had been employed before the divorce. The mother's job helped her to cope more effectively, psychologically and economically. A particularly difficult situation, on the other hand, occurred when the mother started work at the time of the divorce. While the new job helped the mother in some ways, such as providing self-esteem and new social contact, it made the situation difficult for the child by increasing the disruption in routines and adding to the child's losses.

None of these studies (and these are just about all there are) really tells us much about maternal employment effects during the early years. Clearly there is room for more research, but studies of older children as well as common sense tell us that other aspects of the situation are of paramount importance. What is happening to a child when its mother is at work? Is the child in a stimulating, affectionate, and stable environment? In what way is that environment different from what it would be if the mother were at home? Would the mother be resentful or inattentive or less effective than the surrogate caretaker? What is the quality of the mother-child interaction when the mother is with the child? Is the mother sensitive to the fact that her employment may necessitate special attention to the needs of the infant?

Let's turn now to the school-aged child. While maternal employment may be necessary for the mother's needs during the child's early years and hence functional to the child, it may offer additional advantages to the school-aged child, particularly in light of the social changes mentioned earlier. Research findings indicate that in the working mother's home there is a less traditional division of labor between husband and wife. Though the woman maintains the larger share, the husband of a working woman participates more in housework and child care. The father is less likely to have a second job and thus has more time for the family. The children in the later part of middle childhood and adolescence are more likely to have household responsibilities. The data suggest that the working mother, except when guilt intervenes, is more likely to encourage independence in the

children. Studies of lower socioeconomic populations and one-parent families have found that working mothers are more likely to have structured rules for their children and consistency between rules and practice.

Both the independence training and the rule-governed households are probably adaptations to the working-mother role: the household functions more smoothly in her absence under these conditions. The differences between working and nonworking mothers in independence training may also reflect their psychological state: the nonworking mother of two school-aged children may overinvest in the mother role because it is the only one from which she derives a sense of self-worth. Several studies indicate low morale on the part of the nonworking mother with school-aged children, and the nondeliberate encouragement of dependence enhances and provides justification for her role.

There is much in the working-mother situation that fits quite well the needs of school-aged children and is better suited to the new adult roles they will occupy. This is particularly true for daughters. For them there is a great deal in the working-mother family to increase their academic-occupational competence and to contribute to positive adjustment generally. Their mothers provide models more consistent with the roles they themselves are likely to occupy as adults; data indicate they are more likely to admire their mothers than are daughters of nonworking women, and they hold the female role in higher esteem, particularly with respect to competence. Since lack of independence training has been one of the factors hypothesized to account for the lower occupational achievements of women, this difference is a particular advantage for girls. Furthermore, research has shown that high-achieving women often have a background that includes a close relationship with a warm and encouraging father, and the greater participation of the father in child care would seem likely to provide this. In addition, the father in working-mother families is more likely to approve of and encourage competence in women. Having household responsibilities has been found to contribute to self-esteem, so this pattern also works in a positive direction. Thus it is not surprising that there is a fairly consistent picture of daughters of working mothers who are higher achievers and indicate a more positive adjustment on a number of different indices.

The data for sons, on the other hand, are more complicated. As with the daughters, the sons of employed mothers are less stereotyped in their view of what each sex is like; they see women as more competent than the sons of nonworking mothers, and they see men as warmer. The data do not indicate that they see women as more competent than men or men as warmer that women, but the sons of employed women are somewhat more androgenous in their views without devaluing either sex. Furtnermore, in several studies--old as well as recent--the sons have better social and personality adjustment scores. However, the picture for sons is not uniformly reassuring and findings differ by social class.

Among the sons of employed mothers in the blue-collar class, the diminishment of sex sterotypes is less pronounced and several studies have reported data suggesting a strain in the father-son relationship. Several studies have reported sons of employed mothers in the lower or really blue-collar class were less admiring of their fathers. A strain in the father-son relationship in lower-class working-mother families was also found in the recent study of Canadian 10-year-olds, this time based on the father's reports. This father-son difficulty

may reflect a perception that maternal employment implies a failure on the part of the father. This view is still not uncommon in the blue-collar class and, in fact, mothers often first enter the labor force at a time when the father's income is seen as inadequate. Should the perception that maternal employment is a normal part of family life become more pervasive throughout the social classes, this working-nonworking difference might disappear, and in view of the increasing prevalence of maternal employment, this is likely to be the case. The data do not indicate, for this class, adverse effects of maternal employment for the son's adjustment or cognitive ability. In fact, a number of studies have found that, in the lower class, sons as well as daughters who have employed mothers do better academically.

Since my 1974 review of maternal employment, there have also been a few studies of families in poverty, including blacks and single-parent families. In all these studies, both sons and daughters of working mothers show better academic performance or cognitive ability generally. An exception is when there is extreme stress. For example, in one study, maternal employment was associated with higher Wechsler IQ scores except when there were six or more children in the family. It is important in considering policy implications to keep in mind that effects can be different in different circumstances.

The pattern in the middle class, on the other hand, is very different. The research does not indicate a strain in the father-son relationship, but some studies have found that in the middle class the sons of employed mothers score lower on intellectual indices. This is not a consistent finding: most studies found no differences; but it occurred often enough to warrant further investigation. In the recent series of Canadian studies, the 10-year-old, middle-class sons of currently working mothers obtained lower scores on mathematics and language achievement tests; the comparable group of English-speaking 4-year-olds had lower IQ scores (though not the French-speaking); and there were no differences in scores for an adolescent group studied, even though their mothers had been employed for at least 4 years. It cannot be concluded from this last study that the academic deficiency in sons washes out by adolescence, however, for previous studies have found the pattern among adolescents. Furthermore, an interesting dimension is added by the longitudinal study of Moore, mentioned earlier, which found that continuous mothering during the preschool years, in comparison with maternal employment, led to better school performance by the sons, but also to a tendency toward conformity and inhibition. Thus, at this point it is very difficult to understand the connection between maternal employment and the academic ability of middle-class sons without knowing the steps in between. What is there in the full-time mothering situation that affects the son's school performance, and do the advantages obtained take a toll on other aspects of the child's psychological development?

There are a number of different hypotheses that might explain this pattern that I hope to be investigating. One, already implied, is that the nonworking mother gives the child a heavy dose of socialization. By virtue of the intense contact possible in the two-child, efficient, middle-class home and because of the nonworking mother's motivation to enhance the mothering role, the nonworking mother may be very effective in inducing a tendency to conform to adult standards, and thus to perform well in school. This better school performance would go along with a pattern of overconformity and inhibition, consistent with Moore's data. We need to know more fully what better school performance includes. Is it just elementary school performance and that part of the IQ test that predicts school

performance? Is adult intellectual functioning affected? Are boys more creative? Do they achieve eminence in greater numbers? I have previously written about how the oversocialization of girls and the insufficient encouragement of independence may lead to better school grades but to problems in achieving top intellectual performance. Is it possible that this is what also describes the sons of the present-day nonworking, middle-class mothers? Though we are quick to assume it, better school performance does not always reflect superior socialization.

There are other, quite different hypotheses. Possibly the nonworking, middle-class mother is in fact a better source of cognitive stimulation and enrichment for the child than the working mother. Why would this pattern show up in the middle class when it is here that the working mother is most likely to try and make up for her employment? There are several studies that indicate that the middle-class mother is a more effective teacher than the lower-class mother and thus any loss that does occur might be greater.

And why aren't middle-class daughters adversely affected by their mothers' employment? Because there are so many advantages of maternal employment for daughters that these may make up for any potential loss.

Still another hypothesis is that the increased independence training of working mothers brings daughters up to the optimum level, since they often suffer from too little, but pushes sons over the top. For me, this is an intriguing area for further research.

Recent studies that focus on the adolescent child particularly suggest advantages of maternal employment. The adolescent period can be a very difficult one for the nonworking mother because of her own personal crises at this stage. Parenting may require a further distancing from the child and an indication of confidence in his or her judgment, while there may be much in the situation that makes the mother want to hang on tighter or even increase the controls. Research indicates that the employed mothers of adolescents have better morale, are more encouraging of independence, and have better scores on various parent adjustment measures. Several studies, particularly one by Gold and Andres, found that sons and daughters of working mothers showed better social and personality adjustment, had a greater sense of personal worth, better family relations, and better interpersonal relations at school. None of the adolescent studies, by the way, concentrated on the situation in which mothers started employment at their children's adolescence, so to some extent these data are support for preadolescent employment also.

In summary then, maternal employment is a very present part of modern family life. It is a response to other social changes and as such meets needs that the previous family ideal of a full-time mother and homemaker cannot. Not only does it meet the parent's needs, but in may ways it is a pattern better suited to socializing the child for the adult roles he or she will occupy. The rigid sex-role stereotyping perpetuated by the division of labor in the traditional family does not prepare children of either sex for the demands that will be made on them as adults. Furthermore, the needs of the growing child require the mother to loosen her hold on the child, and this task may be easier for the working woman for whom employment provides an additional source of identity and self-esteem.

This does not mean that maternal employment does not need to be scrutinized to see what adjustments must be made. Like any social change, it does not move along with instant accommodations. There are many strains on the mother, and consequently on the child, in

fulfilling two very demanding roles, and there is still a paucity of resources for lessening these strains. We do not yet understand the cognitive pattern in sons that sometimes seems to accompany maternal employment in the middle class, and a great deal more research is needed on the infancy and preschool period. The fact that mothers are working may fit the conditions of modern life better than the traditional ones, but it does require that we identify more fully the needs of children to see how they can best be met under the prevailing circumstances.

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Table 1. Labor Force Participation Rates of Mothers With Children Under 18, 1940-1978

Year	Percentage
1978	53.0
1976	48.9
1974	45.7
1972	42.9
1970	42.0
1968	39.4
1966	35.8
1964	34.5
1962	32.9
1960	30.4
1958	29.5
1956	27.5
1954	25.6
1952	23.8
1950	21.0
1948	20.2
1946	18.2
1940	8.6

Table 2. Percentage of Mothers in the Labor Force by Marital Status and Age of Child 1976-1978

Marital status of mother and age of child	Percentage in 1976	Percentage in 1978
All mothers with children under 18	49	53
Mothers with children 6-17 only		
Married, husband present	54	57
Widowed, divorced, separated	68	71
Mothers with children under 6		
Married, husband present	37	42
Widowed, divorced, separated	56	60

APPENDIX D

SCHOOLS AS A COMMUNITY-SUPPORT SYSTEM

Lawrence Cuban

Let me begin with two quotes whose message should sound familiar to you:

> Are we to have the schools ignore the larger work of education and remain...an inflexible missionary of the three R's? Or is it to take as its responsibility, the entire problem of child life and master it?
>
> Schools should be the wheel upon which all other activities (involving children) may turn. This means they will have to realize that education does not consist merely of "book learning."

The first quote was made in 1905 and the second in 1919. While they are drawn from turn-of-the-century reformers, their message resonates to many professionals who work with children and the community now. This issue of the proper role of schools in relation to the community has been debated seriously and at length for almost a century and a half. That debate will continue.

At the end of the last century, businessmen and labor leaders--historian Lawrence Cremin reminds us--insisted that the school take over the rapidly vanishing apprenticeships. Settlement workers and city reformers were urging upon the school instruction in hygiene, cooking, woodworking, and child care. Patriots called for Americanization programs in the schools.

From the antebellum, narrowly defined role of instilling basic literacy and an appreciation of God and country, early twentieth century lay and professional reformers were calling for the school to expand its isolated role into a community-centered child welfare agency. These reformers, like those before them and those to come after them, equated the public schools' accessibility to children with the school's supposed power to improve society.

In the first three decades of this century, reformer dreams were implemented in the school in play areas for the cramped child, school-distributed clothes for the ragged, hot food for the hungry, school-provided medical care for the sick, vocational training for the unskilled, patriotism for the foreigner, sex education and anti-drug, alcohol, and tobacco instruction for the unwary teenager. All the damage that urban life and industrialization had done to the family, work, and neighborhood, the school was now expected to make whole.

Any history of public schools, then, reveals at the very least a striking vulnerability to external changes and pressures over the last century. This profound vulnerability and the inevitable expanding of

school goals and programs to accommodate larger social changes is captured in more generous, kinder phrases such as: "Schools are responsive to changing conditions" or "Schools mirror their community." Public expectations for what schools should do, of course, inflated as schools did more with children beyond literacy and cultivation of the intellect. What Horace Mann preached almost a century and a half ago and the progressive reformers implemented in the early decades of this century, reformers in the 1960s pushed with rhetoric and dollars.

Now, as we move into the 1980s the rhetoric of the school as a child welfare agency or as the central institution in the struggle for an improved life has deflated, especially among educators. But if rhetoric has shrunk, have public expectations in all that schools can do remained strong? I believe that these, also, have diminished.

In the last decade, these beliefs in the power of schools to transform individuals and society have come under attack from researchers, disillusioned reformers, and public officials who equate fewer children in classrooms with reduced budgets. With rhetoric deflated and beliefs in an expanded child-centered role for schools under attack, what are some basic realities to schools as institutions in relation to their community?

What I offer are, of course, my views as a historian and a school superintendent who has served six years in a middle-size urban school system marked heavily by the demographic changes that are the topic of this meeting.

The first reality is that previous reformers were successful in adding particular services and curricula to the school program. These additions will endure even if they did not achieve the dream of social change that had been hoped for. Kindergarten, physical education, industrial arts, home economics, lunch and breakfast, vocational classes and work-study programs, school psychologists and social workers are all now valued parts of the program and would be difficult to pry loose from public schools.

The second reality is the decade-old shrinkage in student enrollment that has set in motion a massive contraction of the school enterprise. Rippling aftershocks of this contraction have registered on the Richter scales of communities in closed schools, fired teachers, budget cuts, strikes, and hostile criticism of school boards, administrators, and teachers.

Dwindling numbers of students in the 1970s came in the backwash of angry blasts at public schools in the 1960s, research that seemingly demonstrated how little schooling shaped children and Gallup polls that traced the public's declining confidence in schools. Consider also that these were the years when the federal courts, legislatures, and executives insisted upon equalizing opportunities for blacks, non-English-speaking minorities, and handicapped children. Long overdue and seldom initiated by school systems, these external pressures nonetheless deeply affected what schools did.

With these jolts to public schools, there has been, I believe, a narrowing of the expanded mission of the schools. The notion that schools have limits to what they can do is acceptable now. Schools can do some things well, more citizens and parents seem to be saying: Let tham concentrate on what they can and must do. What they can and must do is an uneasy marriage of the nineteenth-century mission of schools with selected goals chosen from the long list of subsequent reform efforts. Developing basic literacy, expanding the intellect, transmitting culture, socializing children, and nourishing their emotional life seem to enjoy a rough consensus, although there will

always be disputes over the details of what is taught, who teaches it, and how and where it is taught. But the schools are no longer the "great balance wheel of the social machinery," in Horace Mann's phrase, or, as John Dewey put it, "The teacher is engaged not simply in the training of individuals but in the formation of the proper social life." All of that for now is muted, if not absent in the rhetoric, expectations, and reality that I am aware of.

In such a climate, with so much pressure upon staffs to respond to minorities, handicapped, underachievers, gifted and talented, non-English-speaking students, parents, taxpayers, state and federal officials, and so many other children, adults, and interest groups, there is little incentive or support for schools to aggressively address changes that ripple outward from an increasing divorce rate, single-parent households, and households in which both parents work.

Another reality is the essential conservatism of public schools. I use "conservatism" in its fundamental sense of retaining and saving what is valued and not in any political or perjorative sense.

Actually, this fundamental conservatism in schooling should surprise few, since the basic goals of schooling are preserving ones; that is, trying to produce young people who will know, appreciate, and be able to negotiate effectively the culture, and eventually, as adults, to pass it on to another generation. For a society such as ours, when rapid social change is the norm, the preserving functions of schools become even more pronounced.

If one views schools as profoundly conservative institutions, staffed by people who share and bring to it an additional measure of that same quality, then the few major changes that have occurred over the last century in instruction, curriculum, and organization become understandable. Yes, progressive reformers added kindergarten, vocational education, movable desks, courses in cooking and sewing, and extracurricular activities. And subsequent reformers added Head Start, Follow Through, Title I, and other services. But recall that the reform impulse was to have schools reshape society by producing a generation of children equipped to remedy social ills. When that impulse is measured against what happened--that is, added course offerings and expanded services for children--then the potency of the conservative nature of schooling can be seen in bold relief. In short, given the conservative nature of schools, assigning them the responsibility to improve society is the wrong job, at the wrong time, for the wrong institution.

A fourth reality is that the school is no longer the primary teacher and curriculum for children. Television is. There is no need for me to cite statistics to establish the fact that TV has become a dominant influence over children and in the family. Over two decades of solid research has established plainly for anyone that can plow through it that TV is both teacher and parent; that it shapes children's attitudes and behavior, be they heavy or light viewers; that a steady diet of television violence is an important contributing factor to aggressiveness in children, just as cigarette smoking is a contributing factor to heart disease.

What is often overlooked, however, in assessing the influence of TV upon the family and children is that the values of the classroom are in sharp conflict with those of television. The school depends upon a print culture; the school values deferring pleasure, nourishing ideas and thinking, social hierarchy and continuity. These are built into the daily interaction between adults and children.

Television, on the other hand, is visual. Its value are immediacy, self-gratification, novelty, and purchasing of products.

What this means, I believe, is that a narrowed mission of public schools to develop the mind and socialize the child becomes even more important now that children are so conspicuously marked by television. Ironically, TV, the agent of rapid social change in our culture, may well give schools a compelling rationale for strengthening traditional functions and keeping the mission of the schools focused narrowly upon what schools can do well.

Now, what do these realities I have described have to do with the school's role as a community support system? First, any call for schools to improve society or remedy the consequences of social change should be viewed from the perspective of a long history of similar efforts. It would be a mistake to confuse the schools' accessibility to children with the school's power to improve their lives or their family's situation outside school. Second, the steady contraction of school organizations and the restricting of their mission, reinforced by a TV industry that parents and citizens feel impotent to restrain, suggest that schools are neither best suited or best equipped to do any more with the changing patterns of parental employment and family structure than respond to them.

By respond, I mean for schools to take care of young children between early morning and late afternoon and educate staff to the consequences of changing family patterns. Let me concentrate on these points and use the Arlington County public school system to illustrate what I mean.

As elsewhere, Arlington has experienced a sharp increase in single-parent households and families with two parents working. Requests of the school board in the early 1970s for the schools to develop more preschool opportunities and after-school care arrangements for children led to the creation of preschool centers for 3-5-year-olds and an extended-day program. Parents can now drop their school-age children off as early as 7:00 am and pick them up at 6:00 pm. We have space in each of our 24 elementary schools for children, including kindergartners, supervised by trained adults.

One of every seven elementary children and one of every three kindergarten children are enrolled in our extended-day program. Of the 1,000 families that use the program, more than half are headed by a single parent. Fees are on a sliding scale with low-income parents being subsidized by the county. And anyone familiar with our program knows of the parents' intense loyalty to it.

There is always, however, a gray cloud on the horizon. Arlington and one other school system are the only districts in the State of Virginia that offer this service. Last year the state legislature, lobbied heavily by private day care operators, set a two-year limit on extended-day centers operated by school systems. Unless there is legislation that permits local option, Arlington's program is in danger of disappearing.

By providing this service to working parents, the school simply does more of what it can satisfactorily do. It is extending the custodial function to early morning and late afternoon, thereby decreasing some of the exhausting anxiety that inevitably affects single parents and two-wage-earner families who are concerned with those hours when they are unavailable to children. This, I feel, works well for elementary school children.

But our secondary schools, apart from extracurricular activities that are voluntary, are unsuited to provide extended-day supervision for teenagers who do not want to be there before or after school. And supervision of teenagers, particularly early teens, is especially difficult for working parents. Our secondary schools open between

7:30 and 8:00 am and end between 2:00 and 2:30 pm. The school board and I have heard from parents who are concerned about their unsupervised teenagers. They have suggested opening school later in the morning and sending them home later in the afternoon. Apart from these suggestions, there has been little pressure on the school board to do something for teenagers before and after school, as is done with elementary school children. There is so much uncertainty and confusion, if not hostility, about teenagers on the part of so many groups of people that what to do with them outside school is unclear. The Virginia legislature has proposed repeatedly the lowering of the compulsory attendance age to 16, thereby releasing the school from any responsibility after the student reaches that age. This is no solution, but it is one that lawmakers and national blue-ribbon commissions have proposed often. This confusion reflects the uncertainty of what junior and senior high schools are supposed to do in our culture.

In addition to preschools and extended-day centers, schools, I feel, should educate teachers and administrators to understand the consequences of changing family patterns. The dominant set of beliefs that pervade most school staffs (except for those individuals who are already single parents or one of two wage-earners with small children at home) focuses mostly upon the negative consequences of divorce, single parents, and double wage-earners in a home. Unfortunately, labels are often used in education, and the label of single parent, for example, becomes for too many teachers and administrators a sociological formula that can be used to predict a child's academic success, behavior, and future. Clearly that is shoddy thinking, but too many professionals believe it to be the case.

Because this belief exists and, after all, it is only the reflection of the larger community's attitude, school personnel need to recognize single parents and their children as a valid family unit as well as their special needs. Providing extended-day and preschool programs is one tangible way that school systems can respond. What I have found most fascinating--and I give you only my impressions--is that as extended-day care has become an accepted part of the school program, teachers and administrators seem to be more accepting of the parents. They see that such parents care very deeply about their children, and that stereotypes have less basis in fact. If my impressions are accurate, and I think they are, I find this most encouraging.

But there are other things schools can do: Schedule evening parent conferences, offer adult education courses to help recent single parents adjust to their new situation, counsel on working with special needs of children. They can also provide in-service training for teachers to raise the awareness of changing family units, to work with parents and children when a divorce is happening--these are only a few of the things that can be done by the school.

These responses are neither grand nor inspiring; they are modest but substantial ways to help schools adjust to the changes in family structure and to help parents smooth out rough situations and loosen up the intense anxieties that mark child-rearing for the changing family in the last quarter of the twentieth century.

These are, I believe, humble, worthwhile, and reasonable responses from an institution constrained by a number of realities and history. Ignoring both history and these realities by escalating expectations and again expanding the mission of the schools will only resurface the unreasonable expectations that previous generations wrestled with and that we must now face in citizen disappointment with schools.

Schools, indeed, have limits, yet they can do much that is important in a community by responding modestly to the changing family.

APPENDIX E

EMPLOYERS, EMPLOYEE-PARENTS, AND THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES

Donald R. Fronzaglia

In the dialogues of Plato, Socrates says to Glaucon, in commenting on the role of guardians:

> You agree then, that men and women are to have a common way of life such as we have described--common education, common children; and they are to watch over the citizens in common whether abiding in the city or going out to war; they are to keep watch together, to hunt together like dogs; and always and in all things, as far as they are able, women are to share with men.
>
> The enquiry, however, has yet to be made, whether such a community will be found possible--and if possible, in what way possible?

Thank you for the opportunity to present my views on this extremely complex issue of parental employment and parental responsibilities.

I recognize that as a measure of social impact, the substantial growth in the labor force, especially of women over the last decade, has caused some concerns to be raised as to the consequences of such activity. The subject, however, is not new. It has been touched on by Plato, by observers of the industrial revolution, and by my mother. Not only am I a product of the 1930s, but I am also a survivor of a dual-career family of seven. Perhaps career is too eloquent a term for what my parents did, but what they did, they did all the time. My father was a silk weaver and my mother was a hand-finisher in the ladies' garment industry, and as far back as I can remember, they worked. I'm proud to have had two parents who worked, who had recognizable skills. (Although I, like many others, had to go through the status-conscious phases of ignorance of what they did, shame in what they did, and finally admiration for their occupational skills.) I am also sad as I recall how hard they had to work, and I sometimes reflect on what their working meant to my development--or lack of it. What they instilled in me was a noble work ethic--but they also left me with a depression-era mentality--work at any cost. And today the issue is as alive for me as it was for Plato and my mother, as I direct the human resource development activities at Polaroid Corporation.

Since Dr. Land first demonstrated instant photography 30 years ago, this revolutionary invention has spawned an industry of more than $2 billion. It has also projected Polaroid into a position of preeminence among enterprises known for fostering a creative amalgam

of sciences, arts, and humanities. It is more than an international corporation of 17,000 employees; it is a corporation in which over two-thirds of its members, hourly and salary, participate in some formal, company-sponsored, educational activity, and a corporation that acknowledges and confronts the social and industrial issues of its employees.

Within this context must be raised the question of just how far can, and should, business go in trying to address areas of social responsibility. In a New York Times Magazine article, Professor Milton Friedman addressed this issue most forcefully. He said:

> The social responsibility of business is to increase its profits--only people can have responsibilities.
>
> Business as a whole cannot be said to have responsibilities--in a free society there is one and only one social responsibility of business--to use its resources and engage in activities designed to increase its profits as long as it stays within the rules of the game.

Many years earlier, Henry Ford wrote:

> Business and industry are first and foremost a public service. We are organized to do as much as we can, everywhere, for everybody concerned. I do not believe we should make such an awful profit on our cars. A reasonable profit is right, but not too much.

Before we react too quickly to the possible dichotomy of these statements, let us follow up on Professor Friedman's position on social responsibility. In the business journal Across the Board Friedman was quoted as saying:

> The heavy incidence of unemployment among young people and blacks will not be remedied by general monetary and fiscal policies. We need, instead, specialized efforts: first, efforts to overcome serious educational deficiencies so that individual job seekers will possess greater marketable skills; second, efforts to eradicate impediments that stand in the way of job opportunities for young people and minorities even when the potential for effective job performance is present.

And in 1967, Dr. Land stated in Polaroid's annual report to its shareholders:

> In these troubled times, how can we keep our minds on the satisfaction in our life here at Polaroid, while the nation as a whole is deeply involved not only in military difficulties abroad, but also in social difficulties at home?

He continued:

> Our conviction has been for a whole generation, that without a growing industrial base, what one accomplishes outside of industry is only a temporary remedy, and that the health of society is determined within industry, where jobs must be made.

For me, the roles enunciated by these leaders are not incompatible, but are, in fact, a statement as to the reason for corporate being. Such being provides the major platform in American life for individuals to acknowledge and act on their responsibilities to one another.

Polaroid, like many other fine corporations, has attempted to put its statements of responsibility down on paper. The cornerstone of all our policies is Personnel Policy 101. In it we talk about the two basic aims of Polaroid. Those aims are described this way:

> To produce products that are genuinely unique and useful, excellent in quality, made well and efficiently, so that they present an attractive value to the public, and an attractive profit to the company.

And second:

> To provide a worthwhile working life for each member of the company--a working life that calls out the member's best talents and skills--in which he or she shares in the responsibilities and the rewards.

The policy continues, outlining the demands that are to be met--demands upon the company, demands upon the individual members of the company, and demands upon the working relationships between the members of each group and their leaders.

How this philosophy influences our assessment of the working parent and his or her responsibility is probably no more well defined for us than it is for other corporations, but it does establish the groundwork for our willingness to address evolving social issues and their impact on our employees. What, for instance, should business strive for, an outstanding parent or an outstanding employee? For many parent-employees it is a living dilemma, and we must ask, to what degree does the corporation and society contribute to the dilemma?

Unfortunately, the love-hate relationship between business and society and between business and the individual becomes exacerbated by unrealistic demands being placed upon it as our social and cultural environment changes. And so rather than contributing to the solution, a major element becomes part of the problem. I do not intend to plead noninvolvement, but only to place an appropriate caveat to our involvement in addressing our role in this delicate issue.

In a positive vein, there are areas in which business can be of significant help, in many cases within existing programs. Among the many employee development services offered at Polaroid, two stand out in my mind as being particularly valuable to alleviating the pain around this issue. The first is our major program in career planning. This activity is geared to both hourly and salary employees, and is viewed as a vehicle for crystallizing an individual's values, interests, and skills. As a basic premise, we hold that the quality of people's career development permeates their entire lives, is an ongoing process, and is crucial to facilitating their own life planning. By including the career planning element in our business operations, we are becoming more cognizant of the impact that family issues are having on the employees. Edgar Schein, in his book Career Dynamics, says to deal with the conflicts arising out of the commitments to work and family:

> requires more insight and adaptive capacity on the part of both the individual within the conflict situation, and the employing organizations (e.g., employers must become more aware of the emotional effects of asking people to artibrarily separate all family issues from work issues). Failure (by the individual and/or the organization) to recognize and adapt, will ultimately show up in reduced performance on the job.

The second major program that in part has dealt with this issue is our personal counseling service, also available to both hourly and salaried employees. Through the efforts of six full-time professional counselors, employees are able to examine the conflicts and stresses that they may be experiencing, seeking solutions to their problems in a supportive and confidential environment. While no statistics may be quoted on those employees with problems as parents, history has shown a direct relationship of in-house client issues to those affecting society at large.

Within the framework of the counseling group and the management development group are three seminar offerings that I believe to be significant and appropriate to our issue. The first is called "The Troubled Employee" and is designed to assist supervisors in identifying early symptoms of behavior problems and to work with, or refer to, appropriate resources. The second seminar is titled "The Alcoholic Employee." This management-directed program is intended to acquaint them with the nature and scope of alcoholism and its effect on an employee's work life as well as his or her personal life, including the family. And the third is "Coping with Stress Within Organizational Life." This seminar examines the rapidly changing external environment and internal factors affecting individuals that can cause conflict, ambiguity, and stress.

As we consider what we can do today regarding the concerns and conflicts of working parents, we might consider future implications. Are we in industry going to have to plan for a work force that not only cannot read or write and is ill prepared to plan careers, but will also enter industry alienated because it robbed them of their parents? As far back as 1956, Paul Goodman, author of Growing Up Absurd, wrote:

> The accumulation of the missed and compromise revolutions of modern times, with their consequent ambiguities and social imbalances, has fallen, and must fall, most heavily on the young, making it hard to grow up.
>
> A man who has attained maturity and independence can pick and choose among the immense modern advances, and somewhat wield them as his way of life. If he has a poor society, an adult cannot be very happy, he will not have simple goals nor achieve classical products, but he can fight and work anyway. But for children and adolescents it is indispensable to have a coherent, fairly simple and viable society to grow up into; otherwise they are confused, and sometimes squeezed out. Tradition has been broken, yet there is no standard to affirm.

Is this a condition for perpetuity, as each new social crisis arises and adds layer upon layer of pressure on the young?

Consider this: half of the children in a school kindergarten to grade 4 come from homes in which the parents are separated. More than three-fourths of the parents of these children work. Discipline and respect for authority is free-falling to dangerous levels; suspension of second- and third-graders is becoming commonplace; and disciplinary warnings are rebutted by eight-year-olds quoting chapter and verse of child abuse laws. May correlations be drawn among separation, work, and discipline? Perhaps. Is this of concern to industry? It should be. I don't think we will be able to begin to measure the effects of this social concern for 20 or 30 years, when today's first-grader finds her way into industry and we begin to measure the ethic of that new work force. John W. Gardner has said:

> We have in the tradition of this nation a well tested framework of values: justice, liberty, equality of opportunity, the worth and dignity of the individual, brotherhood, individual responsibility--all supremely compatible with social renewal. Our problem is not to find better values but to be faithful to those we profess--and to make them live in our institutions.

Our dream at Polaroid is that our employees become involved with the idea that each person in industry be as much a man or woman when at work as when at home and that the universal goal of the dignity of each person be central to all our actions. A plethora of quick fixes for the social psyche is not what industry or society should embark on. Mass scrambling to invent solutions to ill-defined problems is not in our best interest. What may be industry's greatest contribution is an understanding of the dynamics of work and the family, and adjusting those variables in work that can aid employees on an individual basis. Obviously, efforts have been made to accommodate the working parent, such as flexible work hours, leaves of absence, work sharing, and day care centers. Other efforts to help the information flow between worker-parent and the child include family open houses, newsletters to the home, and company-sponsored events. Yet, if there are deep societal changes taking place, none of the current programs in and of themselves may meet the challenge of ensuring that those changes will positively affect the generations of citizen-workers to come.

Perhaps, after all the research is done, we will return to Plato's Republic:

> Socrates: Did you never observe in the arts how the potters' boys look on and help, long before they touch the wheel?
>
> And shall potters be more careful in educating their children and in giving them the opportunity to seeing and practising their duties than our guardians will be?
>
> There is also the effect on the parents, with whom as with other animals, the presence of their young ones will be the greatest incentive to valour.

Our role may be as simple yet profound.

Thank you.

APPENDIX F

GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND PROGRAMS: MAPPING THE DOMAIN

Sheila B. Kamerman

The range of government policies and programs to support adults in their roles as parents and workers is potentially enormous, and could be defined to include all of social policy and, indeed, much of domestic policy generally. Obviously, such a perspective would have little value for those here today concerned as we are with developing a policy and research agenda.

Our first task, therefore, in mapping this loosely defined domain, is to decide on boundaries. Which government policies, implemented how, at what governmental level or levels, affecting which people, are particularly salient? At the very least, I would argue for inclusion of: (1) income transfer policies, (2) employment policies, (3) housing policies, (4) education policies, and (5) personal social services, including publicly subsidized family support services, regardless of how and by whom they are provided. Given time constraints, however, covering even these would be impossible.

What follows, therefore, is a partial and selective listing. My choices reflect the state of knowledge, research, and experience in several countries now addressing the same question we are concerned with here: What is--or should be--the role of government in supporting adults in their work and family responsibilities?

My focus is on those adults--especially young adults--regardless of gender, who are now or expect to be both parents and members of the labor force. Although I have no question about the need to address the consequences of parental unemployment for children, I will not include that issue in my comments, nor will I discuss the problem of occupational segregation or any other specific aspect of equal opportunities for women in the labor market. Similarly, although I am certain that attention should be paid to how young people are socialized into adult roles at work and in the family, I will not now discuss that issue either, although I assume it and others will be discussed at this meeting.

What I will focus on instead are selected components of the three policy domains that have particular significance for families with children: income transfer or income maintenance policies; employment policies; and child care policies. In addition to describing the relevant policies and programs, I will briefly compare what exists in the United States with what exists in several other countries. The premise is not that we would want to, or should, copy any of these patterns but that we might find some of the developments in other countries interesting and stimulating. Finally, I will try to sketch out some of the issues related to how these policies are implemented.

Three problems under the general rubric of work, family, and community have emerged as warranting the attention of government in

much of the industrialized world: the economic costs of rearing children and the need for some financial assistance for those who do so; the stresses experienced both from and at work and the need to facilitate a better balance between work and home; the care of children while parents are away from home, at work; and the need to ensure for children maximum opportunity for development, both in and out of the home.

THE ECONOMIC COSTS OF REARING CHILDREN

Four policies in the United States relate to subsidizing all or some of the costs of rearing children: aid to families with dependent children (AFDC); the earned income tax credit (EITC); tax allowances for dependents; and the child care tax credit.

AFDC is the cash benefit provided primarily to low-income single mothers on the assumption that these women are unemployable and that the benefits represent a substitute for wages. The EITC is a reduction in the tax liability of intact, low-income working families with at least one child. The credit (a maximum of $500) is available to families whose earnings are below a specified amount. If their tax liability is less than the credit, the family receives a cash rebate of the difference. At a time when most married women as well as most single mothers are in the labor force, one could raise questions about the relevance of a policy such as AFDC, which, in addition to all its other inequities, is premised on the assumption of an at-home role for women--or at the most part-time work--until a child is 14 or older. On the other hand, the income ceiling for eligibility for the EITC credit limits its availability as a cash supplement to the wages of working families. Both these benefits are income-tested and therefore are limited in the numbers of families who can be helped by them.

Both the tax allowance for dependents and the child care tax credit are not income-tested and available potentially to all families. The tax allowance is a reduction of $1,000 per dependent in the amount of income subject to the personal income tax, and benefits most those whose incomes are subject to a high marginal tax rate. The child care tax credit is a reduction in tax liability for families in which the sole parent or both parents work. The credit (a maximum of $400 for one child or $800 for two or more) is limited to a proportion of child care expenses up to a specified maximum. It is not refundable and therefore of value only if there is a tax liability.

In contrast to the U.S. policies in which public assistance plays a major role and income-testing is a dominant characteristic, many European countries provide social assistance in a much more limited fashion, choosing instead to provide cash benefits to families on a universal basis, regardless of family income, contingent only on the presence of a child. Several countries have begun to use the term "family benefit system" to describe a cluster of family income benefits, both income-tested and non-income-tested.

Child or family allowances exist in almost all industrialized countries except the United States. They are provided as a direct transfer of cash from the government to families with children or as an indirect transfer by means of a refundable tax credit, as a child benefit. France provides a special additional supplement for low-income families with at least one child under age three or three or more children. About three-quarters of the families who qualify for this benefit on the basis of children's age or family size meet the income eligibility level, which is set fairly generously. Regardless

of whether it is achieved, one goal of this benefit is to permit some low-income women to withdraw from the labor force while their children are very young.

Most countries other than the United States view childbirth as a social rather than an individual risk--a condition that may result in temporary unemployment for reasons beyond the control of the individual. To replace earnings lost at this time, such countries provide a cash benefit through the social insurance or social security system--as a health insurance benefit, an unemployment insurance benefit, or a special parent insurance benefit. Almost all employed women who give birth are covered by this benefit, which ensures wage replacement for a minimum of three months and a maximum of one year, although six months is most typical. Sweden offers this benefit to either parent, or permits it to be shared between them.

An income-tested cash allowance for housing is also provided in several countries. In at least one, half the families with children receive such a benefit, an increasingly important subsidy in these times when the cost of housing presents a growing burden on family income.

One country provides a cash benefit for all employed women to enable them to stop working and be subsidized in order to remain at home after childbirth, but only until their child is age three. Then they are expected to return to the labor force, to a job that has been kept for them. Although only Hungary provides this particular benefit in this way, several others provide something akin to it, representing a partial wage for 1 to 2.5 years following a fully paid post-childbirth leave.

Thus, replacement of earned income for some brief time after childbirth is provided in many countries; income supplementation for families with children is provided in almost all countries, with several offering additional supplementation for low-income and/or single-parent, sole-wage-earner families. Where women are subsidized in an at-home role, it is for a very brief time, until a child is three years of age at most. Of particular importance, these women are assured of a job subsequently or helped to obtain one.

Although not central to the costs of child rearing, two related policies are also being discussed in both the United States and elsewhere. Modification of the eligibility for and entitlements to old age insurance under social security is being discussed to take account of the changing pattern of labor participation by women and the changing expectations regarding the permanence of marriage. Similarly, there is discussion of the need to reform the personal income tax, so as to eliminate the so-called marriage penalty and to avoid the implicit taxing of a married woman's earnings at the marginal tax rate of her husband.

ATTENUATING THE STRESSES RELATED TO WORK

Statutory attention to employment policies for parents has been nonexistent in the United States. In contrast, all those countries mentioned above that provide a cash benefit to replace earnings foregone at childbirth also provide a right to leave employment at the same time, with a guarantee that jobs, seniority, and pension rights will be protected. At a minimum, these entitlements cover the same time-span as the cash benefit; thus, they range from three months to one year. Several countries also provide the right to an additional leave from employment, without financial compensation but with full

job protection, for six months to two years, depending on the country. Often this benefit can be used by either parent. One country guarantees the right to part-time work to parents of young children.

Several countries also provide a statutory entitlement for employed parents to a limited number of days off from work at full pay if a young child is ill at home and requires care.

CHILD CARE

Income maintenance policies are set largely at the national level in all countries, and employment policies are set at either national or state levels, depending on the structure of government in the countries involved. In contrast, our third problem, child care, involves some combination of federal, state, and local activities in the United States as in other three-tier countries, or it involves national and local policies in those countries without an important middle level of government.

Although there is no coherent national policy in the United States regarding child care services for the children of employed parents, extensive public subsidies do exist. There is, however, no consistent approach to the provision or the delivery of such services.

The federal government provides a cash subsidy to working parents through the child care tax credit mentioned earlier. A separate child care subsidy is provided to some AFDC recipients as an add-on to their basic benefit. Both of these benefits can be used to pay for family day care, center care, or in-home care. In addition, the federal government funds Head Start, a compensatory early childhood education program for children in low-income families, and subsidizes publicly and privately operated day care centers through the general social service funding authorized under Title XX of the Social Security Act. State and local governments fund the public school system, the single most important child care facility outside the family. They are helped in this funding by the federal government through grants under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Public schools are playing an increasingly important role in providing child care for preschool children in kindergarten and prekindergarten programs.

Although over 60 percent of the 3-6-year-olds in the United States are in some form of child care service outside the home, primarily a group program, most are in private programs, largely part-day. Infants and toddlers are largely in informal, family day care arrangements.

In contrast, in much of Europe, almost all children from the age of three--and increasingly from the age of two--attend voluntarily a public preschool program covering the normal school day, regardless of whether their parents work, because a group experience is viewed as being good for children. The debate about child care services for the children of working parents is focused largely on one- and two-year-olds, on whether family day care or center-based group care is preferable, and on what kind of programs should be developed for children of working parents to supplement the school day or substitute for school when schools are closed.

THE INTERRELATIONSHIPS AMONG THE POLICIES

As we have reviewed the experience in other countries, it has become increasingly apparent that these three policy domains are

interrelated in their consequences for working families and children. Child care services cannot be viewed apart from cash benefits to support family income and employment policies to make possible needed "family time." The several government policies must be seen--not as discrete items--but as a child and family policy "benefit and service" package.

To illustrate what I mean: Most families need the earnings of two workers today in order to have an adequate standard of living, and there is a growing assumption that both parents will be in the labor force. If there is only one wage-earner in a family, family income is likely to be inadequate; even more so if the sole wage-earner is a woman. For adults to rear children, at the very least some time off from work at the time of childbirth is essential, as is some compensation for loss of income at that time. When adults work while their children are young, the children need some kind of supervised care. Subsidizing child care services--regardless of the nature of the subsidy--implies some acceptance of women's employment as well as some concern for how children are cared for and the costs of rearing children. All of these are interrelated, and together they suggest the need for some kind of action.

SOME QUESTIONS FOR DISCUSSION

The underlying issue throughout is clear: What is--or should be--the role of government in relation to families and children?

For whatever the reasons, clearly we in the United States are suspicious of governmental activities and concerned about public expenditures--in areas that many other countries take for granted. Despite these attitudes, it seems unlikely that further government actions will not be supported, even though it may be several years before any new developments occur.

On the other hand, if we object to expanding the role of government, are we prepared to ignore the problems faced by adults as they try to cope with the two worlds of home and work simultaneously? Should we assume that however individual parents manage by themselves will be fine? Are there alternatives to government action, and if so, what are they? Is public money--a subsidy--the only thing that is needed, or is there an appropriate role for government in administering and/or monitoring services? Can local governments act without the support of the federal government?

More specifically, with regard to the costs of rearing children:

- Should women with young children be expected to work and, if so, when children are what age?
- Should the United States supplement the income of families rearing children?
- Should there be any period of wage replacement for employed women--or men--to withdraw from the labor force and care for their children?
- Should any of these programs be industry-related or should all be governmental? In either case, how would--or could--they be financed?

With regard to improving the balance between work and family life:

- Is it at all realistic to expect U.S. industry voluntarily--or as a result of government actions--to take initiatives in such fields as childbirth-related leaves from work, the right to part-time work, paid sick leaves to care for an ill child, flextime, and so forth?

With regard to child care:

- What is--and what could be--the role of state and local governments with regard to providing child care services?
- Is the education system a bad site for preschool programs, and can the the industry-based services that some people recommend really be better? Can teachers be retrained to work effectively in early childhood education programs?

- There is growing discussion about establishing a child care voucher system--or expanding the child care tax credit and making it refundable. A fundamental policy distinction exists between subsidizing demand or consumption in this way and subsidizing supply or the provision of child care services instead. Over $600 billion are now expended through the tax credit. What kinds of child care does this money buy and what would be the consequences of expanding the credit?

These questions are only illustrative. I hope that these and many others will be addressed in our discussions at this meeting.

APPENDIX G

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